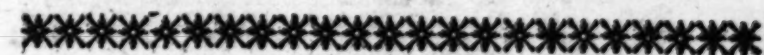


1508/932



THE
GENUINE LETTERS
OF
J U N I U S.



THE
GENUINE LETTERS



E 1/160/18

THE

GENUINE LETTERS

OF

J U N I U S.

To which are prefixed

ANECDOTES OF THE AUTHOR,

W. Norton

Piccadilly.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED IN THE YEAR

M,DCC,LXXI.

THE

GENUINE LETTERS

OF



TO WHICH ARE ADDED

ANECDOTES OF THE AUTHORS

LONDON

PRINTED IN THE YEAR

MDCCLXXI

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ANECDOTES

OF THE

AUTHOR.

OF all the political writers that have distinguished themselves since the accession of the house of Brunswick to the throne of Great-Britain, the author of Junius's letters is undoubtedly one of the most eminent. Others have espoused as noble a cause, and with equal zeal, but few or none with equal abilities. We have living instances of popular orators, who rave by the hour, in the senate, for "Rome and for their country," whose talents, as writers, are nevertheless inadequate to the penning a common epistle of business or compliment with literary elegance, or even grammatical propriety. Eloquent therefore as some of them may be accounted for their manner of delivery, the matter of their argument must ever be held in suspicion; unless we conceive that modern authors, like French prophets and fanatical teachers, know by intuition, and speak by inspiration; or that men may think more coolly, reason more justly, and express themselves more pertinently, amidst the interrupting sneers, winks, nods, and noise of

a numerous assembly, than when alone, and undisturbed in their own closets.

Among such indifferent speakers, and still more indifferent writers, many of them notwithstanding of the first rank and distinction by birth or fortune, it is no wonder that a man of superior talents and aspiring disposition should make his way into the senate, where such a dearth of abilities so pressing invited him. - It is as little also to be wondered at, that he should be called forward, by the patronage of those who stood in need of his service, and were judges of his merit, to the display of those literary and rhetorical powers, for which he is so justly celebrated.

Thus, by the favour of the discerning Great, Junius saw himself early in life, raised to a situation, for which, though by nature and education peculiarly qualified, he was not by family or fortune so favourably entitled. Junius, however, is of a good family of a neighbouring kingdom, whose greatest abatement, like that of many others of the same nation, is that of having been more prolific than rich.

Having finished his academical studies, he entered the world therefore like a soldier of a fortune; with this difference, that while others of his brave countrymen wielded the sword, or brandished the spontoon, in the service of their country abroad, Junius employed a more formidable weapon, his pen, in the same cause at home. This he has continued to do on almost every important occasion, so effectually, that, if his success hath done honour to his patrons in their choice of such a champion, the side he hath taken on every interesting question has reflected

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reflected no less honour on the rectitude of his understanding, than it hath recommended that of his heart; at least to those who have still charity enough to believe, that amidst a multitude of apostate patriots, there may be yet one faithful Abdiel to be found.

From the greatest abilities, engaged in the best of causes, it is natural to expect an end proportional to the means; and that every point must be carried that was once authorized by reason, and enforced by rhetoric. But, in a country governed by parties, the best of causes stands equally in need of the best support with the worst, and even with all the advantages on its side is often given up against reason, and abandoned without regret.

It is not our design to write a panegyric on the author of the following letters: the reception they have already met with in the world, hath anticipated that design, and rendered a more formal execution of it unnecessary. To this general sketch of the bright side of the picture, we shall therefore proceed to point out some of those particular and distinguishing touches of character; which, if they do not serve to soften the colouring, and heighten the beauty of the portrait, will tend at least to give it a more striking likeness, and afford a true and natural resemblance of the original.

We shall do this also without fear of giving offence to the author; as no man of his sense and experience would wish to be flatteringly and fallaciously represented as one of those

“—faultless monsters which the world ne’er saw.”

It is with the author as with his works :

“Whoever thinks a perfect piece to see,
“Thinks what ne’er was, nor is, nor e’er shall be.”

Were we disposed, in imitation of Plutarch, to draw a parallel, the writer, whose talents those of Junius seem most to resemble, is the late Lord Bolingbroke. It was probably this congeniality of mental abilities, rather than any error in judgment, that led our author, in one of the earliest pieces with which he obliged the world, to copy the stile and sentiments of that noble writer so exactly, that the performance passed, for some time, even with the critics and connoisseurs as a posthumous production of his Lordship.

This piece was entitled, “A Vindication of Natural Society; or, a View of the Miseries and Evils arising to Mankind, from every Species of Artificial Society*.” If the title of this tract carried with it the air of irony, its contents were perfectly conformable; experience, however, on this, as on many other occasions, serves sadly to confirm the veracity of that trite, though pertinent proverb, that “Truth is often spoken, “in jest.”

This little performance may be regarded as a *certamen ingenii*, a kind of exercise of his literary and logical abilities; and affords no mean proof of the proficiency he had made in the rhetorical and dialectic arts.

* Written in the character of the noble writer above-mentioned, and in the form of a letter to Lord***. It was first printed in the year 1756, and has been very deservedly repeated in Doddsley’s collection of fugitive pieces.

Of the same kind are those little critiques on political publications, with which our author, about that time, occasionally favoured those well-known farragoes of literary and political criticism, the Reviews: those very heterogeneous works, that, during a course of upwards of twenty years, have worn a very different face at different times, and have been very unequally executed by different authors, gentle and simple, whigs and tories, learned and unlearned, sceptical and credulous; composing the most motley groupe of writers that ever at once informed and infested society.

Had Junius the vanity of a certain rival politician, now seated at the board of treasury, he would probably wish to have it forgotten that he ever acted the part of an obscure and anonymous reviewer; but when he reflects that they were both labourers in the same vineyard with men, who, like themselves, have since risen to consideration and eminence, both in church and state, he must reflect also, with some complacency, on the means by which they whetted their wits to qualify them for the posts and offices they so well do, or so ardently wish to, sustain*.

The

* The reader will possibly be not a little diverted at the diversity of the following specimen of a list of successive Reviewers.

Churchmen,	{	Archbishop Secker,	{	Warburton,
		Bishops,		Lowth,
		Dignitaries,		Dr. King,
				The Master of the Temple.

Lawyers,

The reputation our author acquired by his ironical vindication of natural society, received a considerable addition by his celebrated treatise on "the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful:" a work that made its first appearance with great eclat, and obtained the writer the distinguishing appellation of the English Longinus. There is most undoubtedly great merit in this performance; in which the author's ingenuity is, however, more conspicuous than either the extent of his know-

Lawyers,	Judge Blackstone,	{	Dr. Owen Ruffhead,
	Barristers,		
			Arthur Murphy, Esq;
Placemen,	Charles Jenkinson, Esq; a Lord of Treasury,	{	Edmund Burke, Esq; M. P.
	David Hume, Esq; P. P.		
Pensioners,	Athenian Stuart, Serjeant Painter,	{	Ralph,
	Guthrie,		
and	Sam. Johnson,	{	Dr. Hill,
	Dr. Hill,		
Politicians.	Campbell,	{	Smollett,
	Shiebbeare,		
	Sheridan, &c.	{	Berkenhout,
Poets	Captains,	{	Cleland,
	Bickerstaff,		
and	Doctors,	{	Goldsmith,
	Rose,		
Philosophers.	Kenrick,	{	Lloyd
	Lloyd		
	Langhorne,	{	Kelly,
	Shaw,		
	Hiffernan, &c.	{	Hiffernan, &c.

To which may be added, the celebrated John Wilkes, Peter Annet, and a long list of nameless pedagogues, parsons, poetasters, publishers, printers, press-men, and printers devils!

knowledge, or the profundity of his judgment. The affectation of treating subjects philosophically, whose philosophical principles he should have first discovered, hath induced him frequently to amuse us with the shadow of an argument instead of its substance. Hence he bewilders his readers in the search after the origin of abstract and abstruse ideas, by directing them to consult their imagination rather than their perceptions; their conceptions, which are ever misleading them, instead of their sensations; which, while they are trusted no farther than they reach, cannot deceive. Had he made Lord Bacon his philosophical guide, instead of imitating Lord Bolingbroke, he would have considered that, like many other modern sophists, he begun at the wrong end of investigation, by running rashly into the maze of metaphysical speculation, without taking with him the clue of physical experiment. Even Locke might have taught him what he did not always practise himself, to distinguish between complex notions and simple ideas, and to admit only those of the latter, which are evidently deducible from sense.

The similarity of genius, already observed, which our author possessed, to that of the noble author last mentioned, is, in this tract, peculiarly conspicuous. Splendid in his diction, and specious in his argument, he commanded the attention, and captivated the fancy of the reader; but, more florid than perspicuous, more superficial than solid, however the flowers of his rhetoric might dazzle and persuade, the force of his reasoning was ineffectual either to instruct or convince. In springing up to the sublime, he soared out of sight, and
with

with the eccentricity of a comet, rushed from a blaze of light into darkness and obscurity. In the pursuit of the beautiful, he carried his refinement to such a degree of delicacy, that it lost its essential quality of pleasing. The form of beauty is no longer amiable than it is palatable to sense.

Of Junius, therefore, considered in the capacity of a philosopher, it may be said, as of his favorite Bolingbroke, in the words of a late writer, that "by having" "endeavoured at too much, he has done nothing;" "though, as a political writer, few can equal, and" "none exceed him." His *forte* does not lie in developing the philosophical secrets of nature, and disclosing the mysterious operations of the human mind; but in discovering the political secrets of society, and exposing the iniquitous machinations of government.

And here the comparison between Bolingbroke and Junius ends: the great abilities of the former having been exerted to introduce the tyranny of arbitrary power, and to enslave his country; while to the latter common gratitude induces us to look up, as to a friend and benefactor, both of his country and of mankind.

It has been objected, indeed, and that with some appearance of reason, against the disinterestedness and integrity of his character, that he has made the public station ever subservient to his private interest; and that he has not only been actuated in his political writings more by a spirit of party than of patriotism, but that private pique hath often aggravated his censure as personal attachment has animated his applause.

In

In answer to this objection, it may be observed, that, to possess the zeal and disinterestedness of a patriot, without the passions of a man, is impossible; and, were it possible, is by no means desirable. The cosmopolite, who affects a friendship for all mankind in general, is seldom a friend to any particular individual. He who has a kindness for every body, must have a large stock of benevolence indeed to have much kindness for any body. General good-will must flow from a particular source; and, as the stream must be proportional to the fountain whence it springs, the more extensive its surface the more shallow will be its depth. In order that a man may be a friend to others, it behoves him to be a constant friend to himself. If Junius, when in office, had not profited by the accustomed and legal perquisites of his post, he would have been imprudently his own enemy. That a man should make his station also, in all other reputable respects subservient to his interest, who was not born to an affluent fortune, is certainly excusable in an age and country, which countenance the first fortunes in the kingdom, in the shameful practices of place-hunting, stock-jobbing, match-making, and even match-marring, for the sake of gratifying the pitiful passions of avarice and petty ambition in the saving or accumulation of a few thousands, to add profusion to a plentiful patrimony. It is a strong presumption, however, that he cannot be much a knave who is known to be considerably duped: and that Junius is so little an adept in the tricks of the alley, as to have run great risques of being stigmatised, in its cant phrase, for a lame duck, is notorious.

But

But our author, it is said, hath not only constantly opposed administration, when his patrons and himself were out of place; but has affected to despise, and has really neglected his fellow patriots engaged in the same cause; and even hath espoused the cause and defended the persons of its enemies.

We shall not take upon us very warmly to commend his replies to the several pamphlets and papers written in support of the ministers preceding and succeeding the Rockingham administration*. These were undoubtedly dictated in some measure by the spirit of party, and were confessedly more immediately calculated for the service of his patrons than for that of the nation. It is some extenuation, however, if not a total exculpation of the criminality of those productions, if our Author really thought, as no doubt he professes to do, that the interest of his patrons, and that of his country, are inseparably connected. Be this as it may, the like objection cannot be made to the letters contained in the present publication; which most opportunely made their first appearance at a time, when the most direct and violent attacks were made and making on the liberties and constitution of our country.

At such a juncture, to stand forth their professed champion, was worthy the fortitude and abilities of a Junius. That he has apparently neglected, and even affected publicly to condemn the man, in whose person those
flagrant

* Among which the replies to the *Budget*, and the *Considerations on the present State of the Nation*, with others of less note, are imputed to our author.

flagrant and flagitious attempts were made, is certain. But, whether he looked on him with an envious eye, as a more favoured rival in the popular esteem, or was causelessly jealous of his reputation for literary talents, as a political writer, or from what other motive this seeming neglect was occasioned, is of little consequence to the public. It is of much more, that such neglect was in too great a degree real. It is true indeed, that for some time our Author was a private advocate for Wilkes and Liberty,* but it is no less true, that he soon after conceived the words ill-paired, joined not matched, and determined therefore in his own mind to part them. In consequence of this determination, he appears ever since to have carefully distinguished on all occasions, between

* Among other instances that might be given, is the following:

Mr. Trecothick, the late lord mayor, it is well known, owed his election, as representative in parliament for the city, greatly to the good offices of Mr. Wilkes; who requested his friends, at the latter end of the poll, when single votes could not possibly be of service to him, to poll also for Mr. Trecothick, instead of Sir Richard Glynn, to whom they were mostly inclined. This request had its effect, and Mr. Trecothick accordingly got a head of Sir Richard.—This manœuvre was the consequence of a previous intimation, if not assurance, of Junius to Mr. Wilkes, that he, with the other friends of Trecothick would *totis viribus* support Mr. Wilkes on any other occasion. The then more popular patriot, however, has been known, under the chagrin of disappointment, to exclaim more than once since, “Out upon such half-faced fellowship.” Whether Junius or Trecothick has given him most reason for such exclamation, perhaps Mr. Samuel Vaughan can determine,

the cause of Mr. Wilkes, and that of the publick; or, rather as some will have it, between the personal interest of Mr. Wilkes, a common friend; and that of Lord Rockingham, his particular friend and patron.

In making this distinction, fatal alas! in its consequences, it is observable that he either set or followed the example of another great rival in popularity, Lord Chatham; who seemed as cautious of being hooked into any connection with Wilkes, as if that unfortunate patriot were contagiously infected with a political pestilence.

Unhappily for this country, the diffidence, distrust and division which thus arose between the parties so greatly interested in, and desirous of promoting the same common cause, have not only prevented their private success, but hath at the same time occasioned the cause of the public to miscarry.

By the thunder of Chatham's elocution within doors, the spirit and adroitness of Wilkes's addresses without, and the still more powerful and persuasive rhetoric of Junius's letters, and harangues both without and within, What might not have been done?—What might not the united talents of such a triumvirate have effected? What people so dastardly or depressed as not to be aroused by such a pathetic representation of their grievances? What people so tame as not to be fired with indignation against their oppressors, and animated to avenge their wrongs! What favourite so deservedly detested, what ministry so deservedly despised, what parliament so dreadfully degenerated and daringly defied, could have stood their ground against the ductility of a positive Prince

Prince so earnestly entreated, and the clamours of a remonstrating nation so artfully irritated, and so furiously incensed!

Unhappy, we say again, is it for this kingdom and its Colonies, that the demon of discord had thus sown the seeds of dissention, that grew up into a division of the three persons apparently intended by Providence to meet at the same period, to snatch a great nation from long impending ruin! But, alas, the hour is elapsed, the day of grace is passed. Private pique, distrust, and animosity have proved fatal to the public good. The British empire is devoted to destruction, because its ablest friends could not join in having the honour of contributing to its safety, or in sharing the spoils of those who sought that destruction.

The political wizard, who prophesied we should in a month be no longer a nation, knew, like other political conjurers, well what he said. He knew that he had been lately for months, as he had been for years before, co-operating to the effectual completion of his prophecy. A free nation must ever be free. When it loses its freedom, it is no longer a nation. The constitution may survive long debilitated, but when it is once broken, the body politic, and the body natural, meet approaching dissolution, descend to the grave together; and the day of their resurrection is afar off. From the virility of a favourite, the debility of administration, and the servility of a parliament, British liberty hath received its death's wound. It expires under the hands of the ablest surgeons, merely because they cannot agree about the punctilios of their profession. Even Junius—even to you

Junius

Junius, might we safely appeal. Tell us, if you do not think the united efforts of the patriotic gentlemen abovementioned, if the co-operating talents of the head, hand and heart of Junius, Wilkes, and Chatham, might not have saved, what each separately wished to have saved, and what, tho' those very efforts were now united, is probably past redemption. Yes, Junius, England is destined to a state of slavery, perhaps for ages, unless some political empiric, daring and unprincipled as Cromwell, should administer a remedy as bad as the disease, and relieve her a while from one species of tyranny to subject her to another. Her chains were forged by her most inveterate, though intestine enemies. But when they were brittle, and might easily have been broken, her discordant friends, instead of boldly bursting them asunder, timidly suffered them to anneal and acquire a durable, a dreadful temper.

But if not indebted even to Junius for its preservation, the nation owes to him at least a true sense of its lost, forlorn condition. It is to his unequalled penetration and unparelled intrepidity, it owes the detection and exposure of numerous errors in theory, and wilful mistakes in practice; that have of late years disgraced both the legislative and executive part of government. The court, the camp, the bar, the heads of the council, the army and the law, has he boldly brought to that bar, to which they all are, and ought to be amenable, the bar of the publick. It is to Junius the nation principally owe the unwelcome, though certain and necessary knowledge, that the so much admired, and once truly admirable constitution of England is rotten to the core. It

to Junius we owe the certain information that tyranny and arbitrary power have seated themselves, and would preside in every court, whether of legislature or judicature, in the kingdom. How much more should we have owed him, had he thought himself less indebted to his patrons than his country; or could have seen their interest in different or separate lights. But if ingratitude be the worst of crimes, how criminal were it in the publick to impute gratitude as a crime to Junius; however unfortunate it may be that pride and partiality, the common failings of humanity, have prevented his being sufficiently virtuous.*

An exceptionable passage in the conduct of Junius is doubtless the panegyric he lavished before a great assembly, on the flagitious author of an infamous pamphlet, entitled the **FALSE ALARM**; a pedantic pedagogue, who after having spent half a century of his life in cultivating a rooted antipathy to the family on the throne, and the most rancorous abuse of the Hanover succession, had accepted of that gratuitous emolument from the crown which he had constantly stigmatized as the wages of iniquity; and, in his old age, most servilely prostituted his pen, for that wretched hire he had so long and so loudly condemned. And yet, because this formal pedant could expatiate on trifles, swell insignificance by

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ampli-

* Especially if, what is asserted on good authority be true, that Junius has neglected repeated intimations, and refused repeated overtures, of the most advantageous offers, made him under the sanction of the greatest personage in this kingdom, on condition of his abandoning the patrons, to whom he has so long and so faithfully adhered.

amplification, give verbosity to sense, and pomposity to sound, he was defended by Junius as a paragon of integrity; as if men of letters were privileged to betray their country, and the superior knowledge of what is right, entitles men to do wrong.

Another passage still more exceptionable, is the publication of his pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the Causes of the present Discontents:" in which it is objected against him by some, that he has fairly thrown off the mask of the patriot, and exposed the bare face of the partisan.

To this we cannot altogether subscribe, though certain it is that the difference of sentiment, with regard to immaterial circumstances; affected by our popular patriots, like the hair-breadth distinctions of polemical divines, have rather served to perplex the general cause of debate, and puzzle the disputants, than to clear up or enforce the main point of dispute. Thus this spirited and elaborate discussion of national grievances, by its author's dissenting in particulars from the mode of relief proposed by others, produced a futile altercation; a war of words with a woman, more profuse in their utterance than accurate in their use. But she was popular. She was distinguishedly called the Female Historian; and as such had been long since spoken of with commendatory respect in a great assembly by the pompous patriotic peer we have so often mentioned; a lord, just as capable a critic, as the lady is an author. The earl of Chatham however has declared, and that in a manner which no gentleman will contradict, that Mrs. Macaulay is a most excellent writer; and who, that knows
how

how well his Lordship writes himself, will dare to doubt it, except those who affect to lament, that of the two most favourite histories of this country, the one was penned by a man who was a perfect stranger to the idiom of the English tongue, and the other by a woman equally so to the grammar of any language whatever. But the male is a Scotch philosopher, and the female an English patriot; circumstances which, with their respective parties, cover, like charity, a multitude of sins, whether against loyalty, grammar, or common sense.

As to the extreme severity with which Junius has occasionally treated some respectable characters, it is to be considered, that in regard to the circumstances for which they are censured, they are far from being respectable; and that their allowed merit, or accustomed distinction, in other respects required, for the sake of example, a more than ordinary severity of chastisement. The cause of truth, of justice, of his country, demanded the castigation of such superior delinquents, from the hands of him only who was so well qualified to inflict it.

As a mitigation, however, of this severity, and an exculpation of Junius from the rancour of so much personal resentment, it is to be farther observed, that though the style and sentiment of the following letters may be imputed to one writer, the materials of information with which they abound, were furnished by different hands.

Junius is in this view a *junto*. Of which *Nos numerus unus*, might indeed with propriety be the motto of some; but others had not only their suggestions and instructions

instructions to offer, but also their piques and disappointments to revenge. If Junius was sometimes influenced by these, he is the more excusable; as, however severe his reprehensions, they appear to have ever been founded on justice and truth.

This association, under a single name, appears to have been of some consequence to the personal safety of this writer, who, as he could not take upon him to be the author of all the anecdotes communicated to him, and at the same time was not authorized to disclose the informant, could not be expected to justify, in his own person, every thing for which he might be called to account. The communicating parties therefore bound themselves, it seems, reciprocally to support each other; a circumstance of which the real Junius was wise enough to profit in an altercation that happened between him and a gentleman of rank in the army, who had been very roughly handled in one of his letters. "I am informed, Sir, said the officer, that you wrote the letter which appeared in to-day's Public Advertiser, under the signature of Junius. I shall be obliged to you if you would tell me whether you did or not." Really, Sir, replied our author, that is a question I cannot be so obliging as to answer, as I see no reason for your asking me the question. If you believe your informer, it is needless; and if you do not, it is rather rude to found your suspicion of me on the information of one you suspect to be a liar. Sir, retorted the officer warmly, Lord T. challenged Mr. W. on a similar occasion, and I think

think it is a question a gentleman has a right to ask, and a reason to expect an answer.—You, Sir, returned Junius coolly, may adopt the conduct of Lord T. if you please; but, I assure you, I shall not make Mr. Wilkes the standard of mine. “I am determined I will somehow have satisfaction.” “You are perfectly right, Sir, but you have no right to make me determine the *quo modo*.” “Are not you Junius?” “Angrily—“If I were, Sir, and you were to dispatch one Junius to-day, you would have another to encounter before the end of the week,” turning round on his heel and walking away. The military gentleman was ready to burst with rage at the affected *sang-froid* of our author; but not having the keen-killing stomach of a Bobadil, he stifled his resentment, and suffered the matter to drop. A more pleasant instance of this multifarious character of Junius was given the public, in his hasty and inadvertent reply to a letter addressed to him in the news papers by a supposed female writer; to which our author, in his *gaieté de Cœur*, returned so light and ludicrous an answer, that it was condemned, it seems, in full conclave, by the graver part of the individual units of the junto; whether because they judged its wit to be incompatible with politics, or that they thought its levity unbecoming the pen of a writer, engaged in the discussion of the important affairs of government. Junius therefore was reduced to the disagreeable task of disowning his own hand-writing, and imputing the fault to a mistake of the printer; who, it was pretended, was deceived

ceived by a striking similitude of the penmanship. But could this similitude be accidental? Or, could a correspondent, not in the secret of the junto, copy the handwriting of Junius so nearly as to deceive the printer? *Credet Judæus Apella.*—Be this, however, as it may, both the address and answer were of little consequence, though we have not omitted the latter in the following collection; from the instructive and entertaining perusal of which we shall no longer detain the expectant reader,



L E T T E R I.

S I R,

Jan. 21. 1769.

THE submission of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws, which they themselves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while justice is impartially administered at home, the obedience of the subject will be voluntary, chearful, and I might say unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preservation of its rights, and willingly extends the respect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his person. Loyalty, in the heart and understanding of an Englishman, is a national attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and passion have sometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Englishmen have erred as much in a mistaken zeal for particular persons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought most dear and interesting to themselves.

It naturally fills us with resentment, to see such a temper insulted and abused. In reading the history of a free people, whose rights have been invaded, we are interested in their cause. Our own feelings tell us how long they ought to have submitted, and at what moment it would have been treachery to themselves not to have resisted. How much warmer will be our resentment, if experience should bring the fatal example home to ourselves!

The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man, who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances justify suspicion, and, when the safety of a nation is at stake, suspicion is a just ground of enquiry. Let us enter into it with candour and decency. Respect is due to the station of ministers; and if a resolution must at last be taken, there is none so likely to be supported with firmness, as that which has been adopted with moderation.

The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people. If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home, and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities and
virtue,



virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of that country is weak, distracted, and corrupt. The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point. Ill-usage may rouse their indignation, and hurry them into excesses, but the original fault is in government. Perhaps there never was an instance of a change, in the circumstances and temper of a whole nation, so sudden and extraordinary as that which the misconduct of ministers has, within these very few years, produced in Great Britain. When our gracious Sovereign ascended the throne, we were a flourishing and a contented people. If the personal virtues of a King could have insured the happiness of his subjects, the scene could not have altered so entirely as it has done. The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and distributing the offices of state by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, though it has not yet produced the many salutary effects, which were intended by it. To say nothing of the wisdom of such plan, it undoubtedly arose from an unbounded goodness of heart, in which folly had no share. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces,—it

was not a natural turn for low intrigue ; nor was it the treacherous amusement of double and triple negotiations. No, Sir, it arose from a continued anxiety in the purest of all possible hearts, for the general welfare. Unfortunately for us, the event has not been answerable to the design. After a rapid succession of changes, we are reduced to that state, which hardly any change can mend. Yet there is no extremity of distress, which of itself ought to reduce a great nation to despair. It is not the disorder but the physician ;—it is not a casual concurrence of calamitous circumstances, it is the pernicious hand of government, which alone can make a whole people desperate.

Without much political sagacity, or any extraordinary depth of observation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true cause of every mischief that befalls us.

The finances of a nation, sinking under its debts and expences, are committed to a young nobleman already ruined by play. Introduced to act under the auspices of Lord Chatham, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident ; but deserting the principles and professions, which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apostate by design.

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As for business, the world yet knows nothing of his talents or resolution; unless a wayward, wavering inconsistency be a mark of genius, and caprice a demonstration of spirit. It may be said perhaps, that it is his grace's province, as surely it is his passion, rather to distribute than to save the public money, and that Lord North is Chancellor of the Exchequer, the first Lord of Treasury may be as thoughtless and as extravagant as he pleases, I hope however he will not rely too much on the fertility of Lord North's genius for finance. His lordship is yet to give us the first proof of his abilities: It may be candid to suppose that he has hitherto, voluntarily, concealed his talents; intending perhaps to astonish the world, when we least expect it, with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedients, and a depth of resources, equal to the necessities, and far beyond the hopes of his country. He must now exert the whole power of his capacity, if he would wish us to forget, that, since he has been in office, no plan has been formed, no system adhered to, nor any one important measure adopted for the relief of public credit. If his plan for the service of the current year be not irrevocably fixed on, let me warn him to think seriously of consequence before he ventures to increase the public debt. Outraged and oppressed as we are, this nation will not bear, after a six years

years peace, to see new millions borrowed, without any eventual diminution of debt, or reduction of interest. The attempt might rouse a spirit of resentment, which might reach beyond the sacrifice of a minister. As to the debt upon the civil list, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a strict enquiry how it was incurred. If it must be paid by parliament, let me advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer to think of some better expedient than a lottery. To support an expensive war, or in circumstances of absolute necessity, a lottery may perhaps be allowable; but, besides that is at all times the very worst way of raising money upon the people, I think it ill becomes the Royal dignity to have the debts of a prince provided for, like the repairs of a country bridge or a decayed hospital. The management of the King's affairs in the House of Commons cannot be more disgraced than it has been. A leading minister repeatedly called down for absolute ignorance;—ridiculous motions ridiculously withdrawn;—deliberate plans disconcerted, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory lost in a moment, give us some, though not adequate idea of Lord North's parliamentary abilities and influence. Yet before he had the misfortune of being Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was neither an object of derision

sion to his enemies nor of melancholy pity to his friends.

A series^{es} of inconsistent measures had alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indisputable, and at the same time of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire, which had benefited most by the expences of the war, should contribute something to the expences of the peace, and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise the contribution. But, unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed because he was minister, and Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden were to be patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies, and while perhaps they meant no more than a ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other.

Under one administration the stamp act is made, under the second it is repealed, under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies

colonies is invented, and a question revived, which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the Earl of Hillsborough called forth, at a most critical season, to govern America. The choice at least announced to us a man of superior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be so or not, let his dispatches as far as they have appeared, let his measures as far as they have operated, determine for him. In the former we have seen strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation; but neither correctness in the composition, nor judgment in the design. As for his measures, let it be remembered that he was called upon to conciliate and unite; and that, when he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne, and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies put upon an arbitrary condition, which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may

may call it so unconstitutional an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, gives us as humble an opinion of his lordship's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may perhaps be spared to support the Earl of Hillsborough's measures in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismissal of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and, supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation.

Drawing lots would be a prudent and reasonable method of appointing the officers of state, compared to a late disposition of the secretary's office. Lord Rochford was acquainted with the affairs and temper of the southern courts: Lord Weymouth was equally qualified for either department. By what unaccountable caprice has it happened, that the latter, who pretends to no experience whatsoever, is removed to the most important of the two departments, and the former by preference placed in an office, where his experience can be of no use to him? Lord Weymouth had distinguished himself in his first employment by a spirited, if not

judicious

judicious conduct. He had animated the civil magistrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to more than military execution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the distraction of play, and the bewitching smiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole strength of his clear, unclouded faculties in the service of the crown. It was not the heat of midnight excesses, nor ignorance of the laws, nor the furious spirit of the house of Bedford; No, Sir, when this respectable minister interposed his authority between the magistrate and the people, and signed the mandate, on which, for ought he knew, the lives of thousands depend, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, supported by the best of his judgment.

It has lately been a fashion to pay a compliment to the bravery and generosity of the commander in chief at the expence of his understanding. They who love him make no question of his courage, while his friends dwell chiefly on the facility of his disposition. Admitting him to be as brave as a total absence of all feeling and reflection can make him, let us see what sort of merit he derives from the remainder of his character. If it be generosity to accumulate in his own person and family a number of lucrative employments; to provide, at the public expence, for every creature that bears the name
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of Manners; and, neglecting the merit and services of the rest of the army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependants, the present commander in chief is the most generous man alive. Nature has been sparing of her gifts to this noble lord; but where birth and fortune are united, we expect the noble pride and independence of a man of spirit, not the servile, humiliating complaisance of a courtier. As to the goodness of his heart, if a proof of it be taken from the facility of never refusing, what conclusion shall we draw from the indecency of never performing? And if the discipline of the army be in any degree preserved, what thanks are due to a man, whose cares, notoriously confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of commander in chief into a broker of commissions.

With respect to the navy, I shall only say, that this country is so highly indebted to Sir Edward Hawke, that no expence should be spared to secure him an honourable and affluent retreat.

The pure and impartial administration of justice is perhaps the firmest bond to secure a chearful submission of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not sufficient that questions of private right or wrong are justly decided, nor that judges are superior to the vileness of pecuniary corruption. Jefferies himself, when the court had

no interest, was an upright judge. A court of justice may be subject to another sort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the interest of individuals, and affects the whole community. A judge, under the influence of government, may be honest enough in the decision of private causes, yet a traitor to the public. When a victim is marked out by the ministry, this judge will offer himself to perform the sacrifice. He will not scruple to prostitute his dignity, and betray the sanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for government, or the resentment of a court to be gratified.

These principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no less injudicious. A wise and generous people are roused by every appearance of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, whether those measures are supported openly by the power of government, or masked under the forms of a court of justice. Prudence and self-preservation will oblige the most moderate dispositions to make common cause, even with a man whose conduct they censure, if they see him persecuted in a way which the real spirit of the laws will not justify. The facts, on which these remarks are founded, are too notorious to require an application.

This,

This, Sir, is the detail. In one view, behold, a nation overwhelmed with debt; her revenues wasted; her trade declining; the affections of her colonies alienated; the duty of the magistrate transferred to the soldiery; a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly but against their fellow subjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit; and, in the last instance, the administration of justice become odious and suspected to the whole body of the people. This deplorable scene admits but of one addition—that we are governed by councils, from which a reasonable man can expect no remedy but poison; no relief but death.

If, by the immediate interposition of Providence, it were possible for us to escape a crisis so full of terror and despair, posterity will not believe the history of the present times. They will either conclude that our distresses were imaginary, or that we had the good fortune to be governed by men of acknowledged integrity and wisdom: they will not believe it possible that their ancestors could have survived, or recovered from so desperate a condition, while a Duke of Grafton was prime minister, a Lord North chancellor of the exchequer, a Weymouth and a Hillsborough secretaries of state, a Granby commander in chief, and a M—— chief criminal judge of the kingdom.

L E T T E R II.

S I R,

Feb. 2, 1769.

THE kingdom swarms with such numbers of felonious robbers, of private character and virtue, that no honest or good man is safe, especially as these cowardly base assassins stab in the dark, without having the courage to sign their real names to their malevolent and wicked productions. A writer, who signs himself Junius, in the Public Advertiser of the 21st instant, opens the deplorable situation of his country in a very affecting manner; with a pompous parade of his candour and decency, he tells us, that we see dissensions in all parts of the empire, an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, and a total loss of respect towards us in the eyes of foreign powers. But this writer, with all his boasted candour, has not told us the real cause of the evils he so pathetically enumerates. I shall take the liberty to explain the cause for him. Junius, and such writers as himself, occasion all the mischief complained of, by falsely and maliciously traducing the best characters in the kingdom. For when our deluded people at home, and foreigners abroad, read the poisonous and inflammatory libels that are daily published with impunity, to villify those who are any way distinguished by

by their good qualities and eminent virtues: when they find no notice taken of, or reply given to these slanderous tongues and pens, their conclusion is, that both the ministers and the nation have been fairly described; and they act accordingly. I think it therefore the duty of every good citizen to stand forth, and endeavour to undeceive the public, when the vilest arts are made use of to defame and blacken the brightest characters among us. An eminent author affirms it to be almost as criminal to hear a worthy man traduced, without attempting his justification, as to be the author of the calumny against him. For my own part, I think it a sort of misprision of treason against society. No man therefore who knows Lord Granby, can possibly hear so good and great a character most vilely abused, without a warm and just indignation against this Junius, this high-priest of envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, who has endeavoured to sacrifice our beloved commander in chief at the altars of his horrid deities. Nor is the injury done to his lordship alone, but to the whole nation, which may too soon feel the contempt, and consequently the attacks of our late enemies, if they can be induced to believe that the person, on whom the safety of these kingdoms so much depends, is unequal to his high station, and destitute of those qualities

which

which form a good General. One would have thought that his lordship's services in the cause of his country, from the battle of Culloden to his most glorious conclusion of the late war, might have entitled him to common respect and decency at least; but this uncandid, indecent writer has gone so far as to turn one of the most amiable men of the age into a stupid, unfeeling, and senseless being; possessed indeed of a personal courage, but void of those essential qualities which distinguish the commander from the common soldier.

A very long, uninterrupted, impartial, I will add, a most disinterested friendship with Lord Granby gives me the right to affirm, that all Junius's assertions are false and scandalous. Lord Granby's courage, though of the brightest and most ardent kind, is among the lowest of his numerous good qualities; he was formed to excel in war by nature's liberality to his mind as well as person. Educated and instructed by his most noble father, and a most spirited as well as excellent scholar, the present bishop of Bangor, he was trained to the nicest sense of honour, and to the truest and noblest sort of pride, that of never doing, or suffering a mean action. A sincere love and attachment to his king and country, and to their glory, first impelled him to the field, where he never gained ought but honour. He impaired,
through

through his bounty, his own fortune; for his bounty, which this writer would in vain depreciate, is founded upon the noblest of the human affections, it flows from a heart melting to goodness from the most refined humanity. Can a man, who is described as unfeeling, and void of reflection, be constantly employed in seeking proper objects on whom to exercise those glorious virtues of compassion and generosity? The distressed officer, the soldier, the widow, the orphan, and a long list besides, know that vanity has no share in his frequent donations; he gives, because he feels their distresses. Nor has he ever been rapacious with one hand to be bountiful with the other; yet this uncandid Junius would insinuate, that the dignity of the commander in chief is depraved into the base office of a commission broker; that is, Lord Granby bargains for the sale of commissions; for it must have this meaning, if it has any at all. But where is the man living who can justly charge his lordship with such mean practices? Why does not Junius produce him? Junius knows that he has no other means of wounding this hero, than from some missile weapon, shot from an obscure corner. He seeks, as all such defamatory writers do,

~~— spargere voces~~

~~In Vulgum ambiguas~~

to raise suspicion in the minds of the people. But I hope that my countrymen will be no longer imposed upon by artful and designing men, or by wretches, who, bankrupts in business, in fame, and in fortune, mean nothing more than to involve this country in the same common ruin with themselves. Hence it is, that they are constantly aiming their dark and too often fatal weapons against those who stand forth as the bulwark of our national safety. Lord Granby was too conspicuous a mark not to be their object. He is next attacked for being unfaithful to his promises and engagements: Where are Junius's proofs? Although I could give some instances, where a breach of promise would be a virtue, especially in the case of those who would pervert the open, unsuspecting moments of convivial mirth, into sly, insidious applications for preferment, or party systems, and would endeavour to surprise a good man, who cannot bear to see any one leave him dissatisfied, into unguarded promises. Lord Granby's attention to his own family and relations is called selfish. Had he not attended to them, when fair and just opportunities presented themselves, I should have thought him unfeeling, and void of reflection indeed. How are any man's friends or relations to be provided for, but from the influence and protection of the patron? It is
 unfair

unfair to suppose that Lord Granby's friends have not as much merit as the friends of any other great man: If he is generous at the public expence, as Junius invidiously calls it, the public is at no more expence for his lordship's friends, than it would be if any other set of men possessed those offices: The charge is ridiculous!

The last charge against Lord Granby is of a most serious and alarming nature indeed. Junius asserts, that the army is mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit. The present condition of the army gives the directest lie to his assertions. It was never upon a more respectable footing with regard to discipline, and all the essentials that can form good soldiers. Lord Ligonier delivered a firm and noble palladium of our sabbies into Lord Granby's hands, who has kept it in the same good order in which he received it. The strictest care has been taken to fill up the vacant commissions with such gentlemen as have the glory of their ancestors to support, as well as their own, and are doubly bound to the cause of their king and country, from motives of private property, as well as public spirit. The adjutant general who has the immediate care of the troops, after Lord Granby, is an officer who would do great honour to any service in Europe, for his correct arrangements, good sense and discernment upon all

occasions, and for a punctuality and precision which give the most entire satisfaction to all who are obliged to consult him. The reviewing generals, who inspect the army twice a year, have been selected with the greatest care, and have answered the important trust reposed in them in the most laudable manner. Their reports of the condition of the army are much more to be credited than those of Junius, whom I do advise, to atone for his shameful aspersions, by asking pardon of Lord Granby and the whole kingdom, whom he has offended by his abominable scandals. In short, to turn Junius's own battery against him, I must assert, in his own words, "that he has given strong assertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent censures without dignity or moderation."

Glifton Jan. 26, 1769. WILLIAM DRAPER.

place them to the account of an honest unreflecting indignation in which your cooler judgment and

natural goodness had no concern I approve of the spirit, with which you have given your name to

to *Sir* WILLIAM DRAPER, the Knight of the Bath. I should have hoped that

follow your example. I should have hoped that

SIR, Feb. 7, 1769. YOUR defence of Lord Granby does honour to the goodness of your heart. You feel, as you

ought to do, for the reputation of your friend, and you

begin with a general assertion, that writers such as I am, are the real cause of all the public evils

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you express yourself in the warmest language of the passions. In any other cause, I doubt not, you would have cautiously weighed the consequences of committing your name to the licentious discourses and malignant opinions of the world. But here, I presume, you thought it would be a breach of friendship to lose one moment in consulting your understanding, as if an appeal to the public were no more than a military *couple de main*, where a brave man has no rules to follow, but the dictates of his courage. Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses into which it has led you; and far from resenting those terms of reproach, which, considering that you are an advocate for decorum, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them to the account of an honest unreflecting indignation, in which your cooler judgment and natural politeness had no concern. I approve of the spirit, with which you have given your name to the public, and, if it were a proof of any thing but spirit, I should have thought myself bound to follow your example. I should have hoped that even my name might carry some authority with it, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the respectable signature of Sir William Draper.

You begin with a general assertion, that writers, such as I am, are the real cause of all the public evils

vils we complain of. And do you really think, Sir William, that the licentious pen of a political writer is able to produce such important effects? A little calm reflection might have shewn you, that national calamities do not arise from the description, but from the real character and conduct of ministers. To have supported your assertion, you should have proved that the present ministry are unquestionably the *best and rightest* characters of the kingdom; and that, if the affections of the colonies have been alienated, if Corsica has been shamefully abandoned, if commerce languishes, if public credit is threatened with a new debt, and your own Manilla ransom most dishonourably given up, it has all been owing to the malice of political writers, who will not suffer the best and brightest of characters (meaning still the present ministry) to take a single right step for the honour or interest of the nation. But it seems you were a little tender of coming to particulars. Your conscience insinuated to you, that it would be prudent to leave the characters of Grafton, North, Hillsborough, Weymouth, and Mansfield, to shift for themselves; and truly, Sir William, the part you *have* undertaken is at least as much as you are equal to.

Without disputing Lord Granby's courage, we are yet to learn in what articles of military knowledge nature has been so very liberal to his mind.

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If you have served with him, you ought to have pointed out some instances of able disposition and well concerted enterprize, which might fairly be attributed to his capacity as a General. It is you, Sir William, who make your friend appear awkward and ridiculous, by giving him a laced suit of tawdry qualifications, which nature never intended him to wear.

You say, he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the ordnance nothing? Are the Blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing? Where he got these *nothings* I know not: but you at least ought to have told us where he deserved them.

As to his bounty, compassion, &c. it would have been but little to the purpose, though you had proved all that you have asserted. I meddle with nothing but his character as commander in chief; and though I acquit him of the baseness of selling commissions, I still assert that his military cares have never extended beyond the disposal of vacancies; and I am justified by the complaints of the whole army, when I say that, in this distribution, he consults nothing but parliamentary interests, or the gratification of his immediate dependants.

As to his servile submission to the reigning ministry, let me ask, whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army, when he suffered Sir Jeffery Amherst

best to be sacrificed, and what share he had in recalling that officer to the service? Did he not betray the just interest of the army, in permitting Lord Percy to have a regiment? and does he not at this moment give up all character and dignity as a gentleman, in receding from his own repeated declarations in favour of Mr. Wilkes.

In the two next articles I think we are agreed. You candidly admit, that he often makes such promises as it is a virtue in him to violate, and that no man is more assiduous to provide for his relations at the public expence. I did not urge the last as an absolute vice in his disposition, but to prove that a *careless disinterested spirit* is no part of his character, and as to the other, I desire it may be remembered that I never descended to the indecency of inquiring into his *convivial hours*. It is you, Sir William Draper, who have taken pains to represent your friend in the character of a drunken landlord, who deals out his promises as liberally as his liquor, and will suffer no man to leave his table either sorrowful or sober. None but an intimate friend, who must frequently have seen him in these unhappy, disgraceful moments, could have described him so well.

The last charge, of the neglect of the army, is indeed the most material of all. I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that, in this article, your first fact

fact is false, and as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct contradiction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could wish that, in your future publications, you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premises, before you suffer your genius to hurry you to a conclusion. Lord Ligonier *did not* deliver the army (which you, in classical language, are pleased to call a Palladium) into Lord Granby's hands. It was taken from him, much against his inclination, some two or three years before Lord Granby was commander in chief. As to the state of the army, I should be glad to know, where you have received your intelligence. Was it in the rooms at Bath, or at your retreat at Clifton? The reports of reviewing Generals comprehend only a few regiments in England, which, as they are immediately under the royal inspection, are perhaps in some tolerable order. But do you know any thing of the troops in the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America, to say nothing of a whole army absolutely ruined in Ireland? Inquire a little into facts, Sir William, before you publish your next panegyric upon Lord Granby, and believe me you will find there is a fault at head quarters, which even the acknowledged care and abilities of the Adjutant General cannot correct.

Permit me to inform you that in this article, your friend

Permit me now, Sir William, to address myself personally to you, by way of thanks for the honour of your correspondence. You are by no means undeserving of notice; and it may be of consequence even to Lord Granby to have it determined, whether or no the man, who has praised him so lavishly, be himself deserving of praise. When you returned to Europe, you zealously undertook the cause of that gallant army, by whose bravery at Manilla your own fortune had been established. You complained, you threatened, you even appealed to the public in print. By what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all these clamours for justice to your injured troops, the name of the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? Did the ministry suggest any motives to you, strong enough to tempt a man of honour to desert and betray the cause of his fellow soldiers? Was it that blushing ribband, which is now the perpetual ornament of your person? or was it that regiment, which you afterwards (a thing unprecedented among soldiers), sold to Colonel Gilborne? or was it that government, the full pay of which you are contented to hold, with the half-pay of an Irish Colonel? And do you now, after a retreat not very like that of Scipio, presume to intrude yourself, unthought of, uncalled for, upon the patience of

of

of the public? Are your flatteries of the commander in chief directed to another regiment, which you may again dispose of on the same honourable terms? We know your prudence, Sir William, and I should be sorry to stop your preferment.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R IV.

SIR,

Feb. 10, 1769.

IF the voice of a well meaning individual could be heard amid the clamour, fury, and madness of the times, would it appear too rash and presumptuous to propose to the public, that an act of indemnity and oblivion may be made for all past transactions and offences, as well with respect to Mr. Wilkes as to our colonies? Such salutary expedients have been embraced by the wisest nations; such expedients have been made use of by our own, when the public confusions had arrived to some very dangerous and alarming crisis; and I believe it needs not the gift of prophecy to foretel, that some such crisis is now approaching. Perhaps it will be more wise and praise worthy to make such an act immediately, in order to prevent the possibility, not to say the probability of an insurrection

at

at home, and in our dependencies abroad, than it will be to be obliged to have recourse to one after the mischief has been done, and the kingdom has groaned under all the miseries that avarice, ambition, hypocrisy, and madness, could inflict upon it. An act of grace, indemnity, and oblivion, was passed upon the restoration of king Charles II. but I will venture to say, that had such an act been seasonably passed in the reign of his unhappy father, the civil war had been prevented, and no restoration had been necessary. Is it too late to recall the messengers and edicts of wrath? Cannot the money, that is now wasted in endless and mutual prosecutions, and in stopping the mouth of one man, and in opening that of another, be better employed in erecting a temple to Concord? Let Mr. Wilkes lay the first stone, and such a stone as I hope the builders will not refuse. May this parliament, to use lord Clarendon's expression, be called *The Healing Parliament!* May our foul wounds be cleaned, and then closed! The English have been as famous for good nature as for valour; let it not be said that such qualities are degenerated into savage ferocity. If any of my friends in either house of legislature shall condescend to listen to, and improve these hints, I shall think that I have not lived in vain.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

Clifton, Feb. 6, 1769.

LETTER VI

TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

Feb. 17, 1769.

I Received Junius's favour * last night; he is determined to keep his advantage by the help of his mask; it is an excellent protection, it has saved many a man from an untimely end. But whenever he will be honest enough to lay it aside, avow himself, and produce the face which has so long lurked behind it, the world will be able to judge of his motives for writing such infamous invectives. His real name will discover his freedom and independency, or his servility to a faction. Disappointed ambition, resentment for defeated hopes, and desire of revenge, assume but too often the appearance of public spirit; but be his designs wicked or charitable, Junius should learn, that it is possible to condemn measures, without a barbarous and criminal outrage against men. Junius delights to mangle carcases with a hatchet; his language and instrument have a great connexion with Claremarket, and, to do him justice, he handles his weapon most admirably. One would imagine he had been taught to throw it by the savages of America. It is therefore high time for me to step in

* Vide page 29.

in once more to shield my friend from this merciless weapon, although I may be wounded in the attempt. But I must first ask Junius, by what forced analogy and construction the moments of convivial mirth are made to signify indecency, a violation of engagements, a drunken landlord, and a desire that every one in company should be drunk likewise? He must have culled all the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingsgate to have produced such a piece of oratory. Here the hatchet descends with ten-fold vengeance; but, alas! it hurts no one but its master! For Junius must not think to put words into my mouth, that seem too foul even for his own.

My friend's political engagements I know not, so cannot pretend to explain them, or assert their consistency. I know not whether Junius be considerable enough to belong to any party; if he should be so, can he affirm that he has always adhered to one set of men and measures? Is he sure that he has never sided with those whom he was first hired to abuse? Has he never abused those he was hired to praise? To say the truth, most mens politics sit much too loosely about them. But as my friend's military character was the chief object that engaged me in this controversy, to that I shall return.

Junius

20 Junius asks what instances my friend has given of his military skill and capacity as a General? When and where he gained his honour? When he deserved his emolument? The united voice of the army which served under him, the glorious testimony of Prince Ferdinand, and of vanquished enemies, all Germany will tell him. Junius repeats the complaints of the army against parliamentary influence. I love the army too well, not to wish that such influence were less. Let Junius point out the time when it has not prevailed. It was of the least force in the time of that great man, the late Duke of Cumberland, who, as a prince of the blood, was able as well as willing to stem a torrent which would have overborne any private subject. In time of war this influence is small. In peace, when discontent and faction have the surest means to operate, especially in this country, and when, from a scarcity of public spirit, the wheels of government are rarely moved, but by the power and force of obligations, its weight is always too great. Yet, if this influence at present has done no greater harm than the placing Earl Percy at the head of a regiment, I do not think that either the rights or best interests of the army are sacrificed and betrayed, or the nation undone. Let me ask Junius, if he knows any one nobleman in the army, who has had a regiment by seniority?

I feel

I feel myself happy in seeing young noblemen of illustrious name and great property come among us. They are an additional security to the kingdom from foreign or domestic slavery. Junius needs not be told, that should the time ever come when this nation is to be defended only by those who have nothing more to lose than their arms and their pay, its danger will be great indeed. A happy mixture of men of quality with soldiers of fortune is always to be wished for. But the main point is still to be contended for, I mean the discipline and condition of the army, and I must still maintain, though contradicted by Junius, that it was never upon a more respectable footing, as to all the essentials that can form good soldiers, than it is at present. Junius is forced to allow, that our army at home may be in some tolerable order; yet how kindly does he invite our late enemies to the invasion of Ireland, by assuring them that the army in that kingdom is totally ruined! The colonels of that army are much obliged to him. I have too great an opinion of the military talents of the lord lieutenant, and of all their diligence and capacity, to believe it. If from some strange, unaccountable fatality, the people of that kingdom cannot be induced to consult their own security, by such an effectual augmentation, as may enable the troops there to act with power and energy, is the commander

mander in chief here to blame? Or is he to blame because the troops in the Mediterranean, in the West-Indies, in America, labour under great difficulties from the scarcity of men, which is but too visible all over these kingdoms? Many of our forces are in climates unfavourable to British constitutions; their loss is in proportion. Britain must recruit all these regiments from her own emaciated bosom, or more precariously, by Catholics from Ireland. We are likewise subject to the fatal drains to the East-Indies, to Senegal, and the alarming emigrations of our people to other countries: Such depopulation can only be repaired by a long peace, or by some sensible bill of naturalization.

I must now take the liberty to talk to Junius on my own account. He is pleased to tell me that he addresses himself to me *personally*. I shall be glad to see him. It is his *impersonality* that I complain of, and his invisible attacks: for his dagger in the air is only to be regarded, because one cannot see the hand which holds it; but had it not wounded other people more deeply than myself, I should not have obtruded myself at all on the patience of the public.

Mark how a plain tale shall put him down, and transmute the blush of my ribband into his own cheeks. Junius tells me, that at my return, I zealously undertook the cause of the gallant army,

by whose bravery at Manilla my own fortunes were established; that I complained, that I even appealed to the public. I did so; I glory in having done so, as I had an undoubted right to vindicate my own character, attacked by a Spanish memorial, and to assert the rights of my brave companions. I glory likewise that I have never taken up my pen, but to vindicate the injured. Junius asks by what accident did it happen, that in the midst of all this bustle, and all the clamours for justice to the injured troops, the Manilla ransom was suddenly buried in a profound, and, since that time, an uninterrupted silence? I will explain the cause to the public. The several ministers who have been employed since that time have been very desirous to do justice from two most laudable motives, a strong inclination to assist injured bravery; and to acquire a well deserved popularity to themselves. Their efforts have been in vain. Some were ingenuous enough to own, that they could not think of involving this distressed nation into another war for our private concerns. In short, our rights, for the present, are sacrificed to national convenience; and I must confess, that although I may lose five-and-twenty thousand pounds by their acquiescence to this breach of faith in the Spaniards, I think they are in the right to temporize, considering the critical situation of this country, convulsed in every

part

part by poison infused by anonymous, wicked, and incendiary writers. Lord Shelburne will do me the justice to own, that, in September last, I waited upon him with a joint memorial from the admiral Sir S. Cornish and myself, in behalf of our injured companions. His lordship was as frank upon the occasion as other secretaries had been before him. He did not deceive us by giving any immediate hopes of relief.

Junius would basely insinuate, that my silence may have been purchased by my government, by my *blushing* ribband, by my regiment, by the sale of that regiment, and by half pay as an Irish colonel.

His Majesty was pleased to give me my government, for my service at Madras. I had my first regiment in 1757. Upon my return from Manilla, his Majesty, by Lord Egremont, informed me, that I should have the first vacant red ribband, as a reward for my services in an enterprize, which I had planned as well as executed. The Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville confirmed those assurances many months before the Spainards had protested the ransom bills. To accommodate Lord Clive, then going upon a most important service to Bengal, I waved my claim to the vacancy which then happened. As there was no other vacancy until the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rockingham

were joint ministers, I was then honoured with the order, and it is surely no small honour to me, that in such a succession of ministers, they were all pleased to think that I had deserved it; in my favour they were all united. Upon the reduction of the 79th regiment, which had served so gloriously in the East-Indies, his Majesty, unsolicited by me, gave me the 16th of foot as an equivalent. My motives for retiring afterwards are foreign to the purpose; let it suffice, that his Majesty was pleased to approve of them; they are such as no man can think indecent, who knows the shocks that repeated vicissitudes of heat and cold, of dangerous and sickly climates, will give to the best constitutions in a pretty long course of service. I resigned my regiment to colonel Gisborne, a very good officer, for his half pay, 200 l. Irish annuity; so that, according to Junius, I have been bribed to say nothing more of the Manilla ransom, and sacrifice those brave men by the strange avarice of accepting three hundred and eighty pounds per ann. and giving up eight hundred! If this be bribery, it is not the bribery of these times. As to my flattery, those who know me will judge of it. By the asperity of Junius's stile, I cannot indeed call him a flatterer, unless he be as a cynick or a mastiff; if he wags his tail, he will still growl, and long to bite. The public will now judge of the

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the credit that ought to be given to Junius's writings, from the falsties that he has insinuated with respect to myself.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

Clifton, Feb. 10. 1769.

L E T T E R VI.

To Sir WILLIAM DRAPER,

Knight of the Bath.

S I R,

Feb. 21. 1769.

I Should justly be suspected of acting upon motives of more than common enmity to Lord Granby, if I continued to give you fresh materials or occasion for writing in his defence. Individuals who hate, and the public who despise, have read *your* letters, Sir William, with infinitely more satisfaction than mine. Unfortunately for him, his reputation, like that unhappy country to which you refer me for his last military achievements, has suffered more by his friends than his enemies. In mercy to him, let us drop the subject. For my own part, I willingly leave it to the public to determine whether your vindication of your friend has been as able and judicious, as it was certainly well intended; and you, I think, may be satisfied with the warm acknowledgments he already owes you for making him the principal figure in a piece, in which, but for your amicable assistance,

he

he might have passed without particular notice of distinction.

In justice to your friends, let your future labours be confined to the care of your own reputation. Your declaration, that you are happy in seeing young noblemen *come among us*, is liable to two objections. With respect to Lord Percy, it means nothing, for he was already in the army. He was aid de camp to the King, and had the rank of colonel. A regiment therefore could not make him a more military man, though it made him richer, and probably at the expence of some brave, deserving, friendless officer. — The other concerns yourself. After selling the companions of your victory in one instance, and after selling your profession in the other, by what authority do you presume to call yourself a soldier? The plain evidence of facts is superior to all declarations. Before you were appointed to the 16th regiment, your complaints were a distress to government; — from that moment you were silent. The conclusion is inevitable. You insinuate to us that your ill state of health obliged you to quit the service. The retirement necessary to repair a broken constitution would have been as good a reason for not accepting, as for resigning the command of a regiment. There is certainly an error of the press, or an affected obscurity in that paragraph, where
you

you speak of your bargain with colonel Gisborne. Instead of attempting to answer what I really do not understand, permit me to explain to the public what I really know. In exchange for your regiment, you accepted of a colonel's half pay (at least 220l. a year) and an annuity of 200l. for your own and lady Draper's life jointly.—And this is the losing bargain, which you would represent to us, as if you had given up an income of 800l. a year for 380l: Was it decent, was it honourable, in a man who pretends to love the army, and calls himself a soldier, to make a traffic of the royal favour, and to turn the highest honour of an active profession into a sordid provision for himself and his family? It were unworthy of me to press you farther. The contempt, with which the whole army heard of the manner of your retreat, assures me, that as your conduct was not justified by precedent, it will never be thought an example for imitation.

The last and most important question remains. When you receive your half pay, do you, or do you not, take a solemn oath, or sign a declaration upon honour to the following effect? *That you do not actually hold any place of profit, civil or military, under his Majesty.* The charge which the question plainly conveys against you, is of so shocking a complexion, that I sincerely wish you may be able
to

to answer it well, not merely for the colour of your reputation, but for your own inward peace of mind.

JUNIUS.

P. S. I had determined to leave the commander in chief in the quiet enjoyment of his friend and his bottle; but *Titus* deserves an answer, and shall have a complete one.

LETTER VII.

To JUNIUS.

SIR,

Feb. 27. 1769.

I Have a very short answer for Junius's important question: I do not either take an oath, or declare upon honour, that I have no *place* of profit *civil* or military, when I receive the half pay as an Irish colonel. My most gracious Sovereign gives it me as a pension; he was pleased to think I deserved it. The annuity of 200l. Irish, and the equivalent for the half pay together, produces no more than 380l. per annum, clear of fees and perquisites of office. I receive 167l. from my government of Yarmouth. Total 547l. per annum. My conscience is much at ease in these particulars; my friends need not blush for me.

Ju niu

Junius makes much and frequent use of interrogations: they are arms that may be easily turned against himself. I could, by malicious interrogation, disturb the peace of the most virtuous man in the kingdom; I could take the decalogue, and say to one man, Did you never steal? To the next, Did you never commit murder? And to Junius himself, who is putting my life and conduct to the rack, Did you never bear false witness against thy neighbour? Junius must easily see, that unless he affirms to the contrary in his real name, some people who may be as ignorant of him as I am, will be apt to suspect him of having deviated a little from the truth: therefore let Junius ask no more questions. You bite against a file: cease viper.

W. D.

Clifton, Feb. 23. 1769.

L E T T E R VIII,

To Sir WILLIAM DRAPER,
Knight of the Bath.

S I R,

March 3. 1769.

AN academical education has given you an unlimited command over the most beautiful figures of speech. Masks, hatchets, racks, and vipers dance through your letters in all the mazes of metaphorical confusion. These are the gloomy companions of a disturbed imagination; the melancholy

lancholy madness of poetry, without the inspiration. I will not contend with you in point of composition. You are a scholar, Sir William, and, if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almost as much purity as English. Suffer me then, for I am a plain unlettered man, to continue that stile of interrogation, which suits my capacity, and to which, considering the readiness of your answers, you ought to have no objection. Even Mr. Bingley promises to answer, if put to the torture.

Do you then really think that, if I were to ask a *most virtuous man* whether he ever committed theft, or murder, it would disturb his peace of mind? Such a question might perhaps discompose the gravity of his muscles, but I believe it would little affect the tranquillity of his conscience. Examine your own breast, Sir William, and you will discover, that reproaches and enquiries have no power to afflict either the man of unblemished integrity or the abandoned profligate. It is the middle compound character which alone is vulnerable: the man who, without firmness enough to avoid a dishonourable action, has feeling enough to be ashamed of it.

I thank you for the hint of the decalogue, and shall take an opportunity of applying it to some of
your

your *most virtuous* friends in both houses of parliament.

You seem to have dropped the affair of your regiment; so let it rest. When you are appointed to another, I dare say you will not sell it either for a gross sum, or for any annuity upon lives.

I am truly glad (for really, Sir William, I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this contest with you) that you have been able to clear yourself of a crime, though at the expence of the highest indiscretion. You say that your half pay was given you by way of pension. I will not dwell upon the singularity of uniting in your own person two sorts of provision, which in their own nature, and in all military and parliamentary views, are incompatible; but I call upon you to justify that declaration, wherein you charge your prince with having done an act in your favour notoriously against law. The half pay, both in Ireland and in England, is appropriated by parliament; and if it be given to persons, who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, it is a breach of law. It would have been more decent in you to have called this dishonourable transaction by its true name; a Job to accommodate two persons, by particular interest and management at the Castle. What sense must government have had of your services, when the rewards they have given you are only a disgrace to you!

And

And now, Sir William, I shall take my leave of you for ever. Motives, very different from any apprehension of your resentment, make it impossible you should ever know me. In truth, you have some reason to hold yourself indebted to me. From the lessons I have given, you may collect a profitable instruction for your future life. They will either teach you so to regulate your conduct, as to be able to set the most malicious inquiries at defiance; or, if that be a lost hope, they will teach you prudence enough not to attract the public attention upon a character, which will only pass without censure, when it passes without observation.

J U N I U S.

L E T T E R IX.

To the DUKE of GRAFTON,

My LORD,

March 18. 1769.

BEFORE you were placed at the head of affairs, it had been a maxim of the English government, not unwillingly admitted by the people, that every ungracious or severe exertion of the prerogative should be placed to the account of the Minister; but that whenever an act of grace or benevolence was to be performed, the whole merit of it should be attributed to the Sovereign himself.

himself. It was a wise doctrine, my Lord, and equally advantageous to the King and to his subjects; for while it preserved that suspicious attention, with which the people ought always to examine the conduct of ministers, it tended at the same time rather to increase than diminish their attachment to the person of their Sovereign. If there be not a fatality attending every measure you are concerned in, by what treachery, or by what excess of folly has it happened, that those ungracious acts which have distinguished your administration, and which I doubt not were entirely your own, should carry with them a strong appearance of personal interest, and even of personal enmity in a quarter where no such interest or enmity can be supposed to exist, without the highest injustice, and the highest dishonour? On the other hand, by what judicious management have you contrived it, that the only act of mercy to which you ever advised your king, far from adding to the lustre of a character truly gracious and benevolent, should be received with universal disapprobation and disgust? I shall consider it as a ministerial measure, because it is an odious one, and as your measure, my Lord Duke, because you are the minister.

As long as the trial of this chairman was depending, it was natural enough that government
should

should give him every possible encouragement and support. The honourable service for which he was hired, and the spirit with which he performed it, made a common cause between your Grace and him. The minister, who by secret corruption invades the freedom of elections, and the ruffian, who by open violence destroys that freedom, are embarked in the same bottom. They have the same interests, and mutually feel for each other. To do justice to your Grace's humanity, you felt for Mac-Quirk as you ought to do, and if you had been contented to assist him indirectly, without a notorious denial of justice, or openly insulting the sense of the nation, you might have satisfied every duty of political friendship, without committing the honour of your prince, or hazarding the reputation of his government. But when this unhappy man had been solemnly tried, convicted and condemned;—when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same services, and that no excuse for him could be drawn either from the innocence of his former life, or the simplicity of his character, was it not hazarding too much to interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country? You ought to have known that an example of this sort was never so necessary as at present; and certainly you must have known that the lot could not have fallen up-

on a more guilty object. What system of government is this? You are perpetually complaining of the riotous disposition of the lower class of the people, yet when the laws have given you the means of making an example, in every sense unexceptionable, and by far the most likely to awe the multitude, you pardon the offence, and are not ashamed to give the sanction of government to the riots you complain of, and even to future murderers. You are partial perhaps to the military mode of execution, and had rather see a score of these wretches butchered by the guards, than one of them suffer death by regular course of law. How does it happen, my Lord, that, in *your* hands, even the mercy of the prerogative is cruelty and oppression to the subject?

The measure it seems was so extraordinary, that you thought it necessary to give some reasons for it to the public. Let them be fairly examined.

I. You say that *Messrs. Bromfield and Starling* were not examined at *MacQuirk's trial*. I will tell your Grace why they were not. They must have been examined upon oath; and it was foreseen that their evidence would either not benefit, or might be prejudicial to the prisoner. Otherwise, is it conceivable that his counsel should neglect to call in such material evidence?

You

You say that *Mr. Foote did not see the deceased until after his death*. A surgeon, my Lord, must know very little of his profession, if, upon examining a wound, or a contusion, he cannot determine whether it was mortal or not.—While the party is alive, a surgeon will be cautious of pronouncing; whereas by the death of the patient, he is enabled to consider both cause and effect in one view, and to speak with a certainty confirmed by experience.

Yet we are to thank your Grace for the establishment of a new tribunal. Your *inquisitio post mortem* is unknown to the laws of England, and does honour to your invention. The only material objection to it is, that if Mr. Foote's evidence was insufficient, because he did not examine the wound till after the death of the party, much less can a negative opinion, given by gentlemen who never saw the body of Mr. Clarke, either before or after his decease, authorise you to supersede the verdict of a jury, and sentence of the law.

Now, my Lord, let me ask you, Has it never occurred to your Grace, while you were withdrawing this desperate wretch from that justice which the laws had awarded, and which the whole people of England demanded against him, that there is another man, who is the favourite of his country, whose pardon would have been accepted with gratitude,

itude, whose pardon would have healed all our divisions? Have you quite forgotten that this man was once your Grace's friend? Or is it to murderers only that you will extend the mercy of the crown?

These are questions you will not answer. Nor is it necessary. The character of your private life, and the uniform tenour of your public conduct, is an answer to them all.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R X.

To his Grace the DUKE of GRAFTON.

My LORD,

April 10. 1769.

I Have so good an opinion of your Grace's discernment, that when the author * of the vindication of your conduct assures us, that he writes from his own mere motion, without the least authority from your Grace, I should be ready enough to believe him, but for one fatal mark, which seems to be fixed upon every measure, in which either your personal or your political character is concerned.—Your first attempt to support Sir William Proctor ended in the election of Mr. Wilkes; the second ensured success to Mr. Glynn. The extraordinary step you took to make Sir James Lowther Lord Paramount of Cumberland, has ruined his interest in that county for ever. The

E House,

* Mr. Edward Weston.

House List of Directors was cursed with the concurrence of government; and even the miserable Dingley could not escape the misfortunes of your Grace's protection. With this uniform experience before us, we are authorised to suspect, that when a pretended vindication of your principles and conduct in reality contains the bitterest reflections upon both, it could not have been written without your immediate direction and assistance. The author indeed calls God to witness for him, with all the sincerity, and in the very terms of an Irish evidence, *to the best of his knowledge and belief*. My Lord, you should not encourage these appeals to heaven. The pious Prince from whom you are supposed to descend, made such frequent use of them in his public declarations, that at last the people also found it necessary to appeal to heaven in their turn. Your administration has driven us into circumstances of equal distress;—beware at least how you remind us of the remedy.

You have already much to answer for. You have provoked this unhappy gentleman to play the fool once more in public life, in spite of his years and infirmities, and to shew us, that, as you yourself are a singular instance of youth without spirit, the man who defends you is a no less remarkable example of age without the benefit of experience. To follow such a writer minutely would, like his

own periods, be a labour without end. The subject too has been already discussed, and is sufficiently understood. I cannot help observing, however, that, when the pardon of MacQuirk was the principal charge against you, it would have been but a decent compliment to your Grace's understanding, to have defended you upon your own principles. What credit does a man deserve, who tells us plainly, that the facts set forth in the King's proclamation were not the true motives on which the pardon was granted, and that he wishes that those chirurgical reports which first gave occasion to certain doubts in the royal breast, had not been laid before his Majesty. You see, my Lord, that even your friends cannot defend your actions, without changing your principles, nor justify a deliberate measure of government, without contradicting the main assertion on which it was founded.

The conviction of MacQuirk had reduced you to a dilemma, in which it was hardly possible for you to reconcile your political interest with your duty. You were obliged either to abandon an active useful partizan, or to protect a felon from public justice. With your usual spirit, you preferred your interest to every other consideration; and with your usual judgment, you founded your

determination upon the only motives which should not have been given to the public.

I have frequently censured Mr. Wilkes's conduct, yet your advocate reproaches me with having devoted myself to the service of sedition. Your Grace can best inform us, for which of Mr. Wilkes's good qualities you first honoured him with your friendship, or how long it was before you discovered those bad ones in him, at which, it seems, your delicacy was offended. Remember, my Lord, that you continued your connexion with Mr. Wilkes long after he had been convicted of those crimes, which you have since taken pains to represent in the blackest colours of blasphemy and treason. How unlucky is it, that the first instance you have given us of a scrupulous regard to decorum is united with the breach of a moral obligation! For my own part, my Lord, I am proud to affirm, that, if I had been weak enough to form such a friendship, I would never have been base enough to betray it. But, let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this at least is certain, that, circumstanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The people of England have too much discernment to suffer your Grace to take advantage of the failings of a private character, to establish a precedent by which
the

the public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal ease and satisfaction, employ to the ruin of the best men in the kingdom.—

Content yourself, my Lord, with the many advantages which the unsullied purity of your own character has given you over your unhappy deserted friend. Avail yourself of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live in, and bless God that you “are not as other men are; extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.”

In a heart void of feeling, the laws of honour and good faith may be violated with impunity; and there you may safely indulge your genius. But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner; and though you have succeeded in making him the tool, you shall not make him the victim of your ambition.

J U N I U S.

L E T T E R X I.

S I R,

April 12, 1769.

THE monody on the supposed death of Junius is not the less poetical for being founded on a fiction. In some parts of it there is a promise of genius, which deserves to be encouraged. My letter of Monday will, I hope, convince the author that I am neither a partisan of Mr. Wilkes, nor yet bought off by the ministry. It is true I have

have refused offers which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that *I am in earnest*; because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction; and you, I think, Sir, may be satisfied that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.

J U N I U S.

L E T T E R XII.

To Mr. EDWARD WESTON.

S I R,

April 21, 1769.

I Said you were an old man without the benefit of experience. It seems you are also a volunteer with the stipend of twenty commissions; and at a period when all prospects are at an end, you are still looking forward to rewards, which you cannot enjoy. No man is better acquainted with the bounty of government than you are.

——— *ton impudence,*

Temeraire vicillard, aura sa recompense.

But I will not descend to an altercation either with the impotence of your age, or the peevishness of your diseases. Your pamphlet, ingenious as it is, has been so little read, that the public cannot
know

know how far you have a right to give me the lye, without the following citation of your own words.

Page 6.—‘ 1. That he is persuaded that the motives, which he (Mr. Weston) has alledged, must appear fully sufficient, with or without the opinions of the surgeons.

‘ 2. That those very motives MUST HAVE BEEN the foundation on which the Earl of Rochford thought proper, &c.

‘ 3. That he CANNOT BUT REGRET that the Earl of Rochford seems to have thought proper to lay the chirurgical reports before the King, in preference to all the other sufficient motives,’ &c.

Let the public determine whether this be defending government on their principles or your own.

The stile and language you have adopted are, I confess, not ill suited to the elegance of your own manners, or to the dignity of the cause you have undertaken. Every common dauber writes rascal and villain under his pictures, because the pictures themselves have neither character nor resemblance. But the works of a master require no index. His features and colouring are taken from nature. The impression they make is immediate and uniform; nor is it possible to mistake his characters, whether they represent the treachery

treachery of a minister, or the abused simplicity of
a king. JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XIII.

To his Grace the DUKE of GRAFTON.

My LORD,

April 24. 1769.

THE system you seemed to have adopted, when Lord Chatham unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, gave us no promise of that uncommon exertion of vigour, which has since illustrated your character and distinguished your administration. Far from discovering a spirit bold enough to invade the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution, you were scrupulous of exercising even those powers, with which the executive branch of the legislature is legally invested. We have not yet forgotten how long Mr. Wilkes was suffered to appear at large, nor how long he was at liberty to canvass for the city and county, with all the terrors of an outlawry hanging over him. Our gracious sovereign has not yet forgotten the extraordinary care you took of his dignity, and of the safety of his person, when, at a crisis which courtiers affected to call alarming, you left the metropolis exposed for two nights together, to every species of riot and disorder. The security of the royal residence from insult was then sufficiently provided for in

Mr.

Mr. Conway's firmness and Lord Weymouth's discretion; while the prime minister of Great Britain, in a rural retirement, and in the arms of a faded beauty, had lost all memory of his sovereign, his country and himself. In these instances you might have acted with vigour, for you would have had the sanction of the laws to support you. The friends of government might have defended you without shame, and moderate men, who wish well to the peace and good order of society, might have had a pretence for applauding your conduct. But these it seems were not occasions worthy of your Grace's interposition. You reserved the proofs of your intrepid spirit for trials of greater hazard and importance; and now, as if the most disgraceful relaxation of the executive authority had given you a claim of credit to indulge in excesses still more dangerous, you seemed determined to compensate amply for your former negligence? and to balance the non-execution of the laws with a breach of the constitution. From one extreme you suddenly start to the other, without leaving between the weakness and the fury of the passions, one moment's interval for the firmness of the understanding.

These observations, general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your Grace's administration, and perhaps may be the employ-

employment of a future hour. But the business of the present moment will not suffer me to look back to a series of events, which cease to be interesting or important, because they are succeeded by a measure so singularly daring, that it excites all our attention, and engrosses all our resentment.

Your patronage of Mr. Luttrell has been crowned with success. With this precedent before you, with the principles on which it was established, and with a future house of commons perhaps less virtuous than the present, every county in England, under the auspices of the treasury, may be represented as completely as the county of Middlesex. Posterity will be indebted to your Grace for not contenting yourself with a temporary expedient, but entailing upon them the immediate blessings of your administration. Boroughs were already too much at the mercy of government. Counties could neither be purchased nor intimidated. But their solemn determined election may be rejected, and the man they detest may be appointed, by another choice, to represent them in parliament. Yet it is admitted, that the sheriffs obeyed the laws and performed their duty. The return they made must have been legal and valid, or undoubtedly they would have been censured for making it. With every good natured allowance for your Grace's youth and inexperience, there are some things which you
cannot

cannot but know. You cannot but know that the right of the freeholders to adhere to their choice (even supposing it improperly exerted) was as clear and indisputable as that of the house of commons to exclude one of their own members ? nor is it possible for you not to see the wide distance there is between the negative power of rejecting one man, and the positive power of appointing another. The right of expulsion, in the most favourable sense, is no more than the custom of parliament. The right of election is the very essence of the constitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other set of men, is a step leading immediately to the dissolution of all government. So far forth as it operates, it constitutes a house of commons, which does not represent the people. A house of commons so formed would involve a contradiction and the grossest confusion of ideas ; but there are some ministers, my Lord, whose views can only be answered by reconciling absurdities, and making the same proposition, which is false and absurd in argument, true in fact.

This measure, my Lord, is however attended with one consequence, favourable to the people, which I am persuaded you did not foresee. While the contest lay between the ministry and Mr. Wilkes, his situation and private character gave you advantages

advantages over him which common candour, if not
 the memory of your former friendship, should have
 forbidden you to make use of. To religious men
 you had an opportunity of exaggerating the irregu-
 larities of his past life ;—to moderate men you
 held forth the pernicious consequences of faction.
 Men, who with this character, looked no farther
 than to the object before them, were not dissatisfied
 at seeing Mr. Wilkes excluded from parliament.
 You have now taken care to shift the question ;
 or, rather you have created a new one, in which
 Mr. Wilkes is no more concerned than any other
 English gentleman. You have united this coun-
 try against you on one grand constitutional
 point, on the decision of which our existence,
 as a free people, absolutely depends. You have
 asserted, not in words but in fact, that re-
 presentation in parliament does not depend up-
 on the choice of the freeholders. If such a
 case can possibly happen once, it may happen
 frequently ; it may happen always—and if three
 hundred votes, by any mode of reasoning what-
 soever, can prevail against twelve hundred, the
 same reasoning would equally have given Mr. Lut-
 trell his seat with ten votes, or even with one.
 The consequences of this attack upon the consti-
 tution are too plain and palpable not to alarm the
 dullest apprehension. I trust you will find that the
 people

people of England are neither deficient in spirit nor understanding, though you have treated them, as if they had neither sense to feel nor spirit to resent. We have reason to thank God and our ancestors, that there never yet was a minister in this country, who could stand the issue of such a conflict; and with every prejudice in favour of your intentions, I see no such abilities in your Grace, as should entitle you to succeed in an enterprize, in which the ablest and basest of your predecessors have found their destruction. You may continue to deceive your gracious master with false representations of the temper and condition of his subjects. You may command a venal vote, because it is the common established appendage of your office. But never hope that the freeholders will make a tame surrender of their rights, or that an English army will join with you in overturning the liberties of their country. They know that their first duty, as citizens, is paramount to all subsequent engagements, nor will they prefer the discipline or even the honours of their profession to those sacred original rights, which belonged to them before they were soldiers, and which they claim and possess as the birth-rights of Englishmen.

Return, my Lord, before it is too late, to that easy insipid system, which you first set out with. Take back your mistress;—the name of friend
may

may be fatal to her, for it leads to treachery and persecution. Indulge the people. Attend Newmarket. Mr. Luttrell may again vacate his seat; and Mr. Wilkes, if not persecuted, will soon be forgotten. To be weak and inactive is safer than to be daring and criminal; and wide is the distance between a riot of the populace and a convulsion of the whole kingdom. You may live to make the experiment, but no honest man can wish you should survive it.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XIV.

S I R,

May 1, 1769.

A gentleman who signed himself *An half pay subaltern*, has called upon me to stand forth in the behalf of the much distressed officers now on half pay. He was pleased to say that I have an effectual method of being *really* serviceable to the officers of my reduced regiment. I should have been happy in receiving, by a private letter, that gentleman's idea of relief for them; could have wished he had made use of a more agreeable mode of application, than a public news paper; as unluckily these *ill seasoned provocatives* are more apt to *disgust* than *quicken* the desire of doing good, especially

especially when they are accompanied by invidious reflections; both rash and ill founded : At present I am quite at a loss to find out by what means a person out of parliament; who has long retired from the *great world*, and who of course has but very little influence, or interest, can be of much use to these gallant and distressed gentlemen ; to many of whom I have the greatest obligations ; of which, I have upon all occasions, made the most public and grateful acknowledgments ; nor was there the smallest necessity to *wake* me in this loud manner to a remembrance of their important services, although the writer has been pleased to charge me with *forgetfulness* ; a most *heavy* imputation ! as it implies ingratitude towards those, by whom I have been so essentially assisted, and to whom I am so much indebted for my *good fortune* ; which, however, is not so *great* as the gentleman imagines. He himself forgets that the Spaniards have also *forgot* to pay the ransom. If he could *quicken* their memory, instead of mine, the Officers would be more obliged to him.

Their bravery has given me a competency, a *golden mediocrity*, but not much affluence or luxury, which is a stranger to my house as well as to my thoughts; and I here solemnly declare (notwithstanding the *false assertions* of a *Junius*, who has told the world that I had *sold* the *partners* of my
victory,

victory, and then *gravely* asked me if I were not guilty of *perjury*) that my income is now less than when I first went to Manilla. It is true, its being so is by my own choice : I am voluntarily upon an equivalent for half pay ? and although I would most willingly stand forth in the service of my king and country, should the necessity of the times require my poor assistance, yet I would not again accept of any regiment whatsoever, or interfere with the pretensions of those officers, whose good fortunes has been less than their merits ; and I here most solemnly declare, that I never received either from the East India company, or from the Spaniards, directly or indirectly, any *present* or *gratification*, or any circumstance of emolument whatsoever, to the amount of five shillings, during the whole course of the expedition, or afterwards, my legal prize-money excepted. The Spaniards know that I refused the sum of fifty thousand pounds offered me by the archbishop to mitigate the terms of the ransom, and reduce it to half a million, instead of a *whole* one : So that had I been disposed to have *basely* sold the partners of my victory, avarice herself could not have wished for a richer opportunity.

The many base insinuations that have been of late thrown out to my disadvantage in the public papers oblige me to have recourse to the same channel

channel for my vindication, and flatter myself that the public will be candid enough not to impute it to arrogance, vanity, or the impertinence of egotism; and hope that as much credit will be given to the assertions of a man, who is ready to seal his testimony with his blood, as to a writer, who when repeatedly called upon to avow himself, and personally maintain his accusation, still skulks in the dark, or in the *mean* subterfuge of a mask.

Clifton, April 24, 1769.

W. D.

L E T T E R XV.

To his Grace the DUKE of GRAFTON.

My LORD,

May, 30, 1769.

IF the measures, in which you have been most successful, had been supported by any tolerable appearance of argument, I should have thought my time not ill employed, in continuing to examine your conduct as a minister, and stating it fairly to the public: but when I see questions of the highest national importance carried as they have been, and the first principles of the constitution openly violated, without argument or decency, I confess I give up the cause in despair. The meanest of your predecessors had abilities sufficient to give a colour to their measures. If they invaded the rights of the people, they did not dare to offer

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a direct insult to their understanding; and, in former times, the most venal parliaments made it a condition, in their bargain with the minister, that he should furnish them with some plausible pretences for selling their country and themselves. You have had the merit of introducing a more compendious system of government and logic. You neither address yourself to the passions nor to the understanding, but simply to the touch. You apply yourself immediately to the feelings of your friends, who, contrary to the forms of parliament, never enter heartily into a debate, until they have divided.

Relinquishing, therefore, all idle views of amendment to your Grace, or of benefit to the public, let me be permitted to consider your character and conduct merely as a subject of curious speculation.—There is something in both, which distinguishes you not only from all other ministers, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by design, but that you should never do right by mistake. It is not that your indolence and your activity have been equally misapplied, but that the first uniform principle, or, if I may so call it, the genius of your life, should have carried you through every possible change and contradiction of conduct, without the momentary imputation or colour of a virtue; and that the wildest spirit of inconsistency

inconsistency should never once have betrayed you into a wise or honourable action. This, I own, gives an air of singularity to your fortune, as well as to your disposition. Let us look back together to a scene, in which a mind like yours will find nothing to repent of. Let us try, my Lord, how well you have supported the various relations in which you stood, to your sovereign, your country, your friends, and yourself. Give us, if it be possible, some excuse to posterity, and to ourselves, for submitting to your administration. If not the abilities of a great minister, if not the integrity of a patriot, or the fidelity of a friend, shew us, at least, the firmness of a man.—For the sake of your mistress, the lover shall be spared. I will not lead her into public, as you have done, nor will I insult the memory of departed beauty. Her sex, which alone made her amiable in your eyes, makes her respectable in mine.

The character of the reputed ancestors of some men has made it possible for their descendants to be vicious in the extreme, without being degenerate. Those of your Grace, for instance, left no distressing examples of virtue, even to their legitimate posterity, and you may look back with pleasure to an illustrious pedigree, in which heraldry has not left a single good quality upon record to insult or upbraid you. You have better

proofs of your descent, my Lord, than the register of a marriage, or any troublesome inheritance of reputation. There are some hereditary strokes of character, by which a family may be as clearly distinguished as by the blackest features in the human face. Charles the First lived and died a hypocrite. Charles the Second was a hypocrite of another sort, and should have died upon the same scaffold. At the distance of a century, we see their different characters happily revived and blended in your Grace. Sullen and severe without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the Second, without being an amiable companion, and, for ought I know, may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr.

You had already taken your degrees with credit in those schools, in which the English nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to Lord Chatham's protection. From Newmarket, White's and the opposition, he gave you to the world with an air of popularity, which young men usually set out with, and seldom preserve ;—grave and plausible enough to be thought fit for business ; too young for treachery ; and, in short, a patriot of no unpromising expectations. Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political wonder and attachment ; yet you deserted him, upon the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with

Lord

Lord Rockingham. When the Duke of Cumberland's first negotiation failed, and when the Favourite was pushed to the last extremity, you saved him, by joining with an administration, in which Lord Chatham had refused to engage. Still, however, he was your friend, and you are yet to explain to the world, why you consented to act without him, or why, after uniting with Lord Rockingham, you deserted and betrayed him. You complained that no measures were taken to satisfy your patron, and that your friend, Mr. Wilkes, who had suffered so much for the party, had been abandoned to his fate. They have since contributed, not a little, to your present plenitude of power; yet, I think, Lord Chatham has less reason than ever to be satisfied; and as for Mr. ^{see} Wilkes, it is, perhaps, the greatest misfortune of ^{Bilkes's} his life, that you should have so many compensa-^{2^d Letter} tions to make in the closet for your former friend-^{to y^e D. of} ship with him. Your gracious master understands ^{Grafton} your character, and makes you a persecutor, because you have been a friend.

Lord Chatham formed his last administration upon principles which you certainly concurred in, or you could never have been placed at the head of the treasury. By deserting those principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which he found you were secretly supported in the closet, you

you soon forced him to leave you to yourself, and to withdraw his name from an administration, which had been formed on the credit of it. You had then a prospect of friendships better suited to your genius, and more likely to fix your disposition. Marriage is the point on which every rake is stationary at last; and truly my Lord, you may well be weary of the circuit you have taken, for you have now fairly travelled through every sign in the political zodiac, from the Scorpion in which you stung Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a Virgin in the house of Bloomsbury. One would think that you had had sufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements, or, at least, that such a friendship as the Duke of Bedford's might have been secured to you by the auspicious marriage of your late Duchess with his nephew. But ties of this tender nature cannot be drawn too close; and it may possibly be a part of the Duke of Bedford's ambition, after making *her* an honest woman, to work a miracle of the same sort upon your Grace. This worthy nobleman has long dealt in virtue. There has been a large consumption of it in his own family; and in the way of traffick, I dare say, he has bought and sold more than half the representative integrity of the nation.

In a political view, this union is not imprudent. The favour of princes is a perishable commodity.

You

You have now a strength sufficient to command the closet ; and if it be necessary to betray one friendship more, you may set even Lord Bute at defiance. Mr. Stuart Mackenzie may possibly remember what use the Duke of Bedford usually makes of his power ; and our gracious Sovereign, I doubt not, rejoices at this first appearance of union among his servants. His late Majesty, under the happy influence of a family connexion between his ministers, was relieved from the cares of government. A more active prince may perhaps observe with suspicion, by what degrees an artful servant grows upon his master from the first unlimited professions of duty and attachment to the painful representation of the necessity of the royal service, and soon, in regular progression, to the humble insolence of dictating in all the obsequious forms of peremptory submission. The interval is carefully employed in forming connexions, creating interests, collecting a party, and laying the foundation of double marriages, until the deluded prince, who thought he had found a creature prostituted to his service, and insignificant enough to be always dependant upon his pleasure, finds him at last too strong to be commanded, and too formidable to be removed.

Your Grace's public conduct, as a minister, is but the counter part of your private history, the
same

same inconsistency, the same contradictions. In America we trace you, from the first opposition to the Stamp Act, on principles of convenience, to Mr. Pitt's surrender of the right; then forward to Lord Rockingham's surrender of the fact; then back again to Lord Rockingham's declaration of the right; then forward to taxation with Mr. Townshend; and, in the last instance, from the gentle Conway's undetermined discretion, to blood and compulsion with the Duke of Bedford: Yet if we may believe the simplicity of Lord North's eloquence, at the opening of next sessions you are once more to be patron of America. Is this the wisdom of a great minister? or is it the vibration of a pendulum? Had you no opinion of your own, my Lord? or was it the gratification of betraying every party with which you had been united, and of deserting every political principle in which you had concurred.

Your enemies may turn their eyes without regret from this admirable system of provincial government: they will find gratification enough in the survey of your domestic and foreign policy.

If, instead of disowning with Lord Shelburne, the British court had interposed with dignity and firmness, you know my Lord, that Corsica would never have been invaded. The French saw the weakness of a distracted ministry, and were justified

stified in treating you with contempt: they would
 probably have yielded in the first instance rather
 than hazard a rupture with this country; but be-
 ing once engaged, they cannot retreat without
 dishonour. Common sense foresees consequences
 which have escaped your Grace's penetration.
 Either we suffer the French to make an acquisition,
 the importance of which you have probably no
 conception of, or we oppose them by an under-
 hand management, which only disgraces us in the
 eyes of Europe, without answering any purpose
 of policy or prudence. From secret, indiscreet as-
 sistance, a transition to some more open decisive
 measures becomes unavoidable, till at last we find
 ourselves principals in the war, and are obliged to
 hazard every thing for an object which might have
 originally been obtained without expence or danger.
 I am not versed in the politics of the North; but
 this I believe is certain, that half the money you
 have distributed to carry the expulsion of Mr.
 Wilkes, or even your secretary's share in the last
 subscription, would have kept the Turks at your
 devotion. Was it economy, my Lord? or did the
 coy resistance you have constantly met with in the
 British senate make you despair of corrupting the
 Divan? Your friends indeed have the first claim
 upon your bounty, but if five hundred pounds a
 year

year can be spared in pension to Sir John Moore, it would not have disgraced you to have allowed something to the secret service of the public.

You will say perhaps that the situation of affairs at home demanded and engrossed the whole of your attention. Here, I confess you have been active. An amiable accomplished prince ascends to the throne under the happiest of all auspices, the acclamations and united affections of his subjects. The first measures of his reign, and even the odium of a favourite, were not able to shake their attachments. *Your* services, my Lord, have been more successful. Since you were permitted to take the lead, we have seen the natural effects of a system of government at once both odious and contemptible. We have seen the laws sometimes scandalously relaxed, sometimes violently stretched beyond their tone. We have seen the sacred person of the Sovereign insulted; and in profound peace, and with an undisputed title, the fidelity of his subjects brought by his own servants into public question. Without abilities, resolution, or interest, you have done more than Lord Bute could accomplish with all Scotland at his heels.

Your Grace, little anxious perhaps either for present or future reputation, will not desire to be handed down in these colours to posterity. You have reason to flatter yourself that the memory of
your

your administration will survive even the forms of a constitution, which our ancestors vainly hoped would be immortal; and as for your personal character, I will not, for the honour of human nature, suppose that you can wish to have it remembered. The condition of the present times is desperate indeed; but there is a debt due to those who come after us, and it is the Historian's office to punish, though he cannot correct. I do not give you to posterity as a pattern to imitate, but as an example to deter; and as your conduct comprehends every thing that a wise or honest minister should avoid, I mean to make you a negative instruction to your successors for ever.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XVI.

To his Grace the DUKE of GRAFTON.

My LORD,

July 8th, 1769.

IF nature had given you an understanding qualified to keep pace with the wishes and principles of your heart, she would have made you, perhaps, the most formidable minister that ever was employed, under a limited monarch, to accomplish the ruin of a free people. When neither the feelings of shame, the reproaches of conscience,

science, nor the dread of punishment, form any bar to the designs of a minister, the people would have too much reason to lament their condition, if they did not find some resource in the weakness of his understanding. We owe it to the bounty of providence, that the completest depravity of the heart is sometimes strangely united with a confusion of the mind, which counteracts the most favourite principles, and makes the same man treacherous without art, and a hypocrite without deceiving. The measures, for instance, in which your Grace's activity has been chiefly exerted, as they were adopted without skill, should have been conducted with more than common dexterity. But, truly, my Lord, the execution has been as gross as the design. By one decisive step, you have defeated all the arts of writing. You have fairly confounded the intrigues of opposition, and silenced the clamours of faction. A dark ambiguous system might require and furnish the materials of ingenious illustration, and, in doubtful measures, the virulent exaggeration of party must be employed, to rouse and engage the passions of the people. You have now brought the merits of your administration to an issue, on which every Englishman, of the narrowest capacity, may determine for himself. It is not an alarm to the passions but a calm appeal to the judgment of the people upon
their

their own most essential interests. A more experienced minister would not have hazarded a direct invasion of the first principles of the constitution, before he had made some progress in subduing the spirit of the people. With such a cause as yours, my Lord, it is not sufficient that you have the court at your devotion, unless you can find means to corrupt or intimidate the jury. The collective body of the people form that jury, and from their decision there is but one appeal.

Whether you have talents to support you, at a crisis of such difficulty and danger, should long since have been considered. Judging truly of your disposition, you have perhaps mistaken the extent of your capacity. Good faith and folly have so long been received as synonymous terms, that the reverse of the proposition has grown into credit, and every villain fancies himself a man of abilities. It is the apprehension of your friends, my Lord, that you have drawn some hasty conclusion of this sort, and that a partial reliance upon your moral character has betrayed you beyond the depth of your understanding. You have now carried things too far to retreat. You have plainly declared to the people what they are to expect from the continuance of your administration. It is time for your Grace to consider what you also may expect in return from *their* spirit and *their* resentment.

Since

Since the accession of our most gracious sovereign to the throne, we have seen a system of government, which may well be called a reign of experiments. Parties of all denominations have been employed and dismissed. The advice of the ablest men in this country has been repeatedly called for and rejected; and when the royal displeasure has been signified to a minister, the marks of it have usually been proportioned to his abilities and integrity. The spirit of the FAVOURITE had some apparent influence upon every administration; and every set of ministers preserved an appearance of duration, as long as they submitted to that influence. But there were certain services to be performed for the Favourite's security, or to gratify his resentments, which your predecessors in office had the wisdom or the virtue not to undertake. The moment this refractory spirit was discovered, their disgrace was determined. Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham, have successively had the honour to be dismissed for preferring their duty, as servants of the public, to those compliances which were expected from their station. A submissive administration was at last gradually collected from the deserters of all parties, interests and connexions: and nothing remained but to find a leader for these gallant well disciplined troops. Stand forth, my Lord, for
 thou

thou art the man. Lord Bute found no resource of dependence or security in the proud imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville, nor in the mild but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham. His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties ; and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition and refinement of political chymistry, before he happily arrived at the caput mortuum of vitriol in your Grace. Flat and insipid in your retired state, but brought into action you become vitriol again. Such are the extremes of alternate indolence or fury, which have governed your whole administration. Your circumstances with regard to the people soon becoming desperate, like other honest servants, you determined to involve the best of masters in the same difficulties with yourself. We owe it to your Grace's well directed labours, that your Sovereign has been persuaded to doubt of the affections of his subjects, and the people to suspect the virtues of their Sovereign, at a time when both were unquestionable. You have degraded the royal dignity into a base, dishonourable competition with Mr. Wilkes, nor had you abilities to carry even this last contemptible triumph over a private man, without the gross

self

lest violation of the fundamental laws of the constitution and rights of the people. But these are rights, my Lord, which you can no more annihilate than you can the soil to which they are annexed. The question no longer turns upon points of national honour and security abroad, or on the degrees of expediency and propriety of measures at home. It was not inconsistent that you should abandon the cause of liberty in another country, which you had persecuted in your own; and in the common arts of domestic corruption, we miss no part of Sir Robert Walpole's system except his abilities. In this humble imitative line you might long have proceeded, safe and contemptible. You might probably never have risen to the dignity of being hated, and you might even have been despised with moderation. But it seems you meant to be distinguished, and to a mind like yours there was no other road to fame but by the destruction of a noble fabric, which you thought had been too long the admiration of mankind. The use you have made of the military force, introduced an alarming change in the mode of executing the laws. The arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell invades the foundation of the laws themselves, as it manifestly transfers the right of legislation from those whom the

the

the people have chosen, to those whom they have rejected. With a succession of such appointments, we may soon see a house of commons collected, in the choice of which the other towns and counties of England will have as little share as the devoted county of Middlesex.

Yet I trust your Grace will find that the people of this country are neither to be intimidated by violent measures, nor deceived by refinement. When they see Mr. Luttrell seated in the house of commons by mere dint of power, and in direct opposition to the choice of a whole county, they will not listen to those subtleties by which every arbitrary exertion of authority is explained into the law and privilege of parliament. It requires no persuasion of argument, but simply the evidence of the senses, to convince them, that to transfer the right of election from the collective to the representative body of the people, contradicts all those ideas of a house of commons, which they have received from their forefathers, and which they had already, though vainly perhaps, delivered to their children. The principles on which this violent measure has been defended, have added scorn to injury, and forced us to feel, that we are not only oppressed but insulted.

With what force, my Lord, with what protection, are you prepared to meet the united de-

testation of the people of England? The city of London has given a generous example to the kingdom, in what manner a king of this country ought to be addressed; and I fancy, my Lord, it is not yet in your courage to stand between your Sovereign and the addressees of his subjects. The injuries you have done this country are such as demand not only redress, but vengeance. In vain shall you look for protection to that venal vote which you have already paid for: another must be purchased; and, to save a minister, the house of commons must declare themselves not only independent of their constituents, but the determined enemies of the constitution. Consider, my Lord, whether this be an extremity to which their fears will permit them to advance; or, if their protection should fail you, how far you are authorised to rely upon the sincerity of those smiles, which a pious court lavishes without reluctance upon a libertine by profession. It is not indeed the least of the thousand contradictions which attend you, that a man, marked to the world by the grossest violation of all ceremony and decorum, should be the first servant of a court, in which prayers are morality, and kneeling is religion. Trust not too far to appearances, by which your predecessors have been deceived, though they have not been injured. Even the best of princes may at last dis-

cover that this is a contention in which every thing may be lost, but nothing can be gained; and as you became minister by accident, were adopted without choice, trusted without confidence, and continued without favour, be assured that, whenever an occasion presses, you will be discarded without even the forms of regret. You will then have reaason to be thankful, if you are permitted to retire to that seat of learning, which, in contemplation of the system of your life, the comparative purity of your manners with those of their high steward, and a thousand other recommending circumstances, has chosen you to encourage the growing virtue of their youth, and to preside over their education. Whenever the spirit of distributing prebends and bishopricks shall have departed from you, you will find that learned seminary perfectly recovered from the delirium of an installation, and, what in truth it ought to be, once more a peaceful scene of slumber and meditation. The venerable tutors of the university will no longer distress your modesty, by proposing you for a pattern to their pupils. The learned dulness of declamation will be silent; and even the venal muse, though happiest in fiction, will forget your virtues. Yet, for the benefit of the succeeding age, I could wish that your retreat might be deferred until your morals shall happily be ripened to that maturity of

corruption, at which philosophers tell us, the worst examples cease to be contagious.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XVII.

S I R,

July 19, 1769.

A Great deal of useless argument might have been saved, in the political contest, which has arisen from the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the subsequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the question had been once stated with precision, to the satisfaction of each party, and clearly understood by them both. But in this, as in almost every other dispute, it usually happens that much time is lost in referring to a multitude of cases and precedents, which prove nothing to the purpose, or in maintaining propositions, which are either not disputed, or, whether they be admitted or denied, are entirely indifferent as to the matter in debate; until at last the mind, perplexed and confounded with the endless subtleties of controversy, loses sight of the main question, and never arrives at truth. Both parties in the dispute are apt enough to practise these dishonest artifices. The man who is conscious of the weakness of his cause, is interested in concealing it; and, on the other side, it is not uncommon to see a good cause mangled by advocates who do not know the real strength of it.

I should

I should be glad to know, for instance; to what purpose in the present case so many precedents have been produced to prove, that the house of commons have a right to expel one of their own members; that it belongs to them to judge of the validity of elections; or that the law of parliament is part of the law of the land? After all these propositions are admitted, Mr. Luttrell's right to his seat will continue to be just as disputable as it was before. Not one of them is at present in agitation. Let it be admitted that the house of commons were authorised to expel Mr. Wilkes; that they are the proper court to judge of elections, and that the law of parliament is binding upon the people; still it remains to be enquired whether the house, by their resolution in favour of Mr. Luttrell, have or have not truly declared that law. To facilitate this enquiry, I would have the question cleared of all foreign or indifferent matter. The following state of it will probably be thought a fair one by both parties; and then I imagine there is no gentleman in this country who will not be capable of forming a judicious and true opinion upon it. I take the question to be strictly this: Whether or no it be the known established law of parliament, that the expulsion of a member of the house of commons of itself creates in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that, at a subsequent election,

election, any votes given to him are null and void, and that any other candidate, who, except the person expelled, has the greatest number of votes, ought to be the sitting member?

To prove that the affirmative is the law of parliament, I apprehend it is not sufficient for the present house of commons to declare it to be so. We may shut our eyes indeed to the dangerous consequences of suffering one branch of the legislature to declare new laws, without argument or example, and it may perhaps be prudent enough to submit to authority; but a mere assertion will never convince, much less will it be thought reasonable to prove the right by the fact itself. The ministry have not yet pretended to such a tyranny over our minds. To support the affirmative fairly, it will either be necessary to produce some statute in which that positive provision shall have been made, that specific disability clearly created, and the consequences of it declared; or, if there be no such statute, the custom of parliament must then be referred to, and some case or cases, strictly in point, must be produced, with the decision of the court upon them; for I readily admit that the custom of parliament, once clearly proved, is equally binding with the common and statute law.

The consideration of what may be reasonable or unreasonable makes no part of this question. We
are

are enquiring what the law is, not what it ought to be. Reason may be applied to shew the impropriety or expedience of a law, but we must have either statute or precedent to prove the existence of it. At the same time I do not mean to admit that the late resolution of the house of commons is defensible on general principles of reason, any more than in law. This is not the hinge on which the debate turns.

Supposing therefore that I have laid down an accurate state of the question, I will venture to affirm, 1st. That there is no statute existing by which that specific disability, which we speak of, is created. If there be, let it be produced. The argument will then be at an end.

2dly. That there is no precedent in all the proceedings of the house of commons which comes entirely home to the present case, viz. 'where an expelled member has been returned again, and another candidate, with an inferior number of votes, has been declared the sitting member.' If there be such a precedent, let it be given to us plainly, and I am sure it will have more weight than all the cunning arguments which have been drawn from inferences and probabilities.

The ministry, in that laborious pamphlet which I presume contains the whole strength of the party, have declared, 'that Mr. Walpole's was the first

and

‘ and only instance, in which the electors of any
 ‘ county or borough had returned a person expelled
 ‘ led to serve in the same parliament.’ It is not
 possible to conceive a case more exactly in point.
 Mr. Walpole was expelled, and, having a majority
 of votes at the next election, was returned again.
 The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate set up by
 the ministry, petitioned the house that he might be
 the sitting member. Thus far the circumstances
 tally exactly, except that our house of commons
 saved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The
 point of law however was the same. It came regularly
 before the house, and it was their business
 to determine upon it. They did determine it, for
 they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected*. If it be
 said that they meant this resolution as matter of favour
 and indulgence to the borough, which had retorted
 Mr. Walpole upon them, in order that the
 burgesses, knowing what the law was, might correct
 their error, I answer,

I. That it is a strange way of arguing to oppose
 a supposition which no man can prove, to a fact
 which proves itself.

II. That if this were the intention of the house
 of commons, it must have defeated itself. The
 burgesses of Lynn could never have known their
 error, much less could they have corrected it by
 any instruction they received from the proceedings

ings of the house of commons. They might perhaps have foreseen, that, if they returned Mr. Walpole again, he would again be rejected; but they never could infer, from a resolution by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared *not duly elected*, that, at a future election, and in similar circumstances, the house of commons would reverse their resolution, and receive the same candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected.

This indeed would have been a most extraordinary way of declaring the law of parliament, and what I presume no man, whose understanding is not at cross purposes with itself, could possibly understand.

If in a case of this importance, I thought myself at liberty to argue from suppositions rather than from facts, I think the probability in this case is directly the reverse of what the ministry affirm; and that it is much more likely that the house of commons at that time would rather have strained a point in favour of Mr. Taylor, than that they would have violated the law of parliament, and robbed Mr. Taylor of a right legally vested in him, to gratify a refractory borough, which, in defiance of them, had returned a person branded with the strongest mark of the displeasure of the house.

But

But really, Sir, this way of talking, for I cannot call it argument, is a mockery of the common understanding of the nation, too gross to be endured. Our dearest interests are at stake. An attempt has been made, not merely to rob a single county of its rights, but, by inevitable consequence, to alter the constitution of the house of commons. This fatal attempt has succeeded, and stands as a precedent recorded for ever. If the ministry are unable to defend their cause by fair argument founded on facts, let them spare us at least the mortification of being amused and deluded like children. I believe there is yet a spirit of resistance in this country, which will not submit to be oppressed; but I am sure there is a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot be deceived.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XVIII.

TO Dr. WILLIAM BLACKSTONE,
SOLICITOR GENERAL to her MAJESTY.

S I R,

July 29, 1769.

I SHALL make you no apology for considering a certain pamphlet*, in which your late conduct is defended, as written by yourself. The personal interest, the personal resentments, and
above

* Entitled A letter to the author of the question stated.

above all that wounded spirit, unaccustomed to reproach, and I hope not frequently conscious of deserving it, are signals which betray the author to us as plainly as if your name were in the title page. You appeal to the public in defence of your reputation. We hold it, Sir, that an injury offered to an individual is interesting to society. On this principle the people of England made common cause with Mr. Wilkes. On this principle, if you are injured, they will join in your resentment. I shall not follow you through the insipid form of a third person, but address myself to you directly.

You seem to think the channel of a pamphlet more respectable and better suited to the dignity of your cause, than that of a news-paper. Be it so. Yet if news-papers are scurrilous, you must confess they are impartial. They give us, without any apparent preference, the wit and argument of the ministry, as well as the abusive dulness of the opposition. The scales are equally poised. It is not the printer's fault if the greater weight inclines the balance.

Your pamphlet then is divided into an attack upon Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of your own. It would have been more consistent perhaps with your professed intentions, to have confined yourself to the last. But anger has some claim

claim to indulgence, and railing is usually a relief to the mind. I hope you have found benefit from the experiment. It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville upon his own principles. I have neither the honour of being personally known to him, nor do I pretend to be completely master of all the facts. I need not run the risque of doing an injustice to his opinions or to his conduct, when your pamphlet alone carries, upon the face of it, a full vindication of both.

Your first reflection is that Mr. Grenville was of all men the person, who should not have complained of inconsistency with regard to Mr. Wilkes. This, Sir, is either an unmeaning sneer, a peevish expression of resentment, or, if it means any thing, you plainly beg the question ; for whether his parliamentary conduct with regard to Mr. Wilkes has or has not been inconsistent, remains yet to be proved. But it seems he received upon the spot a sufficient chastisement for exercising *so unfairly* his talent of misrepresentation. You are a lawyer, Sir, and know better than I do, upon what particular occasions a talent for misrepresentation may be *fairly* exerted ; but to punish a man a second time, when he has been once sufficiently chastised, is rather too severe. It is not the laws of England ; it is not in your own Commentaries, nor is it

it yet I believe in the new law you have revealed to the house of commons. I hope this doctrine has no existence but in your own heart. After all, Sir, if you had consulted that sober discretion, which you seem to oppose with triumph to the honest jollity of a tavern, it might have occurred to you that, although you could have succeeded in fixing a charge of inconsistency upon Mr. Grenville, it would not have tended in any shape to exculpate yourself.

Your next insinuation, that Sir William Meredith had hastily adopted the false glosses of his new ally, is of the same sort with the first. It conveys a sneer as little worthy of the gravity of your character, as it is useless to your defence. It is of little moment to the public to enquire by whom the charge was conceived, or by whom it was adopted. The only question we ask is, whether or not it be true. The remainder of your reflections upon Mr. Grenville's conduct destroy themselves. He could not possibly come prepared to traduce your integrity to the house. He could not foresee that you would even speak upon the question, much less could he foresee that you would maintain a direct contradiction of that doctrine, which you had solemnly, disinterestedly, and upon soberest reflection delivered to the public. He came armed indeed with what he thought a respectable
 authority

authority, to support what he was convinced was the cause of truth, and I doubt not he intended to give you, in the course of the debate, an honourable and public testimony of his esteem. Thinking highly of his abilities, I cannot however allow him the gift of divination. As to what you are pleased to call a plan coolly formed to impose upon the house of commons, and his producing it without provocation at midnight, I consider it as the language of pique and invective, therefore unworthy of regard. But, Sir, I am sensible I have followed your example too long, and wandered from the point.

The quotation from your commentaries is matter of record. It can neither be *altered* by your friends, nor misrepresented by your enemies, and I am willing to take your own word for what you have said in the house of commons. If there be a real difference between what you have written and what you have spoken, you confess that your book ought to be the standard. Now, Sir, if words mean any thing, I apprehend that when a long enumeration of disqualifications (whether by statute or the custom of parliament) concludes with these general comprehensive words, ‘but subject to these restrictions and disqualifications, *every* subject of the realm is eligible of common right,’ a reader of a plain understanding must of course rest satisfied

fied that no species of disqualifications whatsoever had been omitted. The known character of the author, and the apparent accuracy with which the whole work is compiled, would confirm him in his opinion; nor could he possibly form any other judgment, without looking upon your Commentaries in the same light in which you consider those penal laws, which though not repealed are fallen into disuse, and are now in effect A SNARE TO THE UNWARY.

You tell us indeed that it was not part of your plan to specify any temporary incapacity, and that you could not, without a spirit of prophecy, have specified the disability of a private individual, subsequent to the period at which you wrote. What your plan was I know not; but what it should have been, in order to complete the work you have given us, is by no means difficult to determine. The incapacity, which you call temporary, may continue seven years; and though you might not have foreseen the particular case of Mr. Wilkes, you might and should have foreseen the possibility of *such* a case, and told us how far the house of commons were authorized to proceed in it by the law and custom of parliament. The freeholders of Middlesex would then have known what they had to trust to, and would never have returned Mr. Wilkes when colonel Luttrell was a candidate

candidate against him. They would have chose some indifferent person rather than submit to be represented by the object of their contempt and detestation.

Your attempt to distinguish between disabilities, which affect whole classes of men, and those which affect individuals only, is really unworthy of your understanding. Your Commentaries had taught me that, although the instance, in which a penal law is exerted, be particular, the laws themselves are general. They are made for the benefit and instruction of the public, though the penalty falls only upon an individual. You cannot but know, Sir, that what was Mr. Wilkes's case yesterday may be your's or mine to-morrow, and that consequently the common right of every subject of the realm is invaded by it. Professing therefore to treat of the constitution of the house of commons, and of the laws and customs relative to that constitution, you certainly were guilty of a most unpardonable omission, in taking no notice of a right and privilege of the house, more extraordinary and more arbitrary than all the others they possess put together. If the expulsion of a member, not under any legal disability, of itself creates in him an incapacity to be re-elected, I see a ready way marked out, by which the majority may at any time remove the honestest and ablest men who
happen

happen to be in opposition to them. To say that they *will not* make this extravagant use of their power, would be a language unfit for a man so learned in the laws as you are. By your doctrine, Sir, they *have* the power, and laws you know are intended to guard against what men *may* do, not to trust to what they *will* do.

Upon the whole, Sir, the charge against you is of a plain, simple nature: It appears even upon the face of your own pamphlet. On the contrary, your justification of yourself is full of subtlety and refinement, and in some places not very intelligible. If I were personally your enemy, I should dwell, with a malignant pleasure, upon those great and useful qualifications, which you certainly possess, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preserve to you the respect and esteem of your country, I should enumerate the honours you have lost, and the virtues you have disgraced: but having no private resentments to gratify, I think it sufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the punishment it deserves to your closet and to yourself.

JUN I U S.

H

LET.

L E T T E R XIX.

S I R, *August, 8, 1769.*

THE gentleman, who has published an answer* to Sir William Meredith's pamphlet, having honoured me with a postscript of six quarto pages, which he moderately calls, bestowing *very* few words upon me, I cannot, in common politeness, refuse him a reply. The form and magnitude of a quarto imposes upon the mind, and men, who are unequal to the labour of discussing an intricate argument, or wish to avoid it, are willing enough to suppose, that much has been proved, because much has been said. Mine, I confess, are humble labours. I do not presume to instruct the learned, but simply to inform the body of the people; and I prefer that channel of conveyance, which is likely to spread farthest among them. The advocates of the ministry seem to me to write for fame, and to flatter themselves, that the size of their works will make them immortal. They pile up reluctant quarto upon solid folio, as if their labours, because they are gigantic, could contend with truth and heaven.

The writer of the volume in question meets me upon my own ground. He acknowledges there is
no

* Entitled an answer to the question stated, with a Postscript in answer to Junius's Letter XVII. vide page 84.

no statute, by which the specific disability we speak of is created, but he affirms, that the custom of parliament has been referred to, and that a case strictly in point has been produced, with the decision of the court upon it.—I thank him for coming so fairly to the point. He asserts, that the case of Mr. Walpole is strictly in point to prove that expulsion creates an absolute incapacity of being re-elected; and for this purpose he refers generally to the first vote of the house upon that occasion, without venturing to recite the vote itself. The unfair, disingenuous artifice of adopting that part of a precedent, which seems to suit his purpose, and omitting the remainder, deserves some pity, but cannot excite my resentment. He takes advantage eagerly of the first resolution, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity is declared; and as to the two following, by which the candidate with the fewest votes was declared "not duly elected," and the election itself vacated, I dare say, he would be well satisfied, if they were for ever blotted out of the journals of the house of commons. In fair argument, no part of a precedent should be admitted, unless the whole of it be given to us together. The author has divided his precedent, for he knew, that, taken together, it produced a consequence directly the reverse of that which he

endeavours to draw from a vote of expulsion. But what will this honest person say, if I take him at his word, and demonstrate to him, that the house of commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity upon his expulsion only? What subterfuge will then remain?

Let it be remembered that we are speaking of the intension of men, who lived more than half a century ago, and that such intention can only be collected from their words and actions, as they are delivered to us upon record. To prove their designs by a supposition of what they would have done, opposed to what they actually did, is mere trifling and impertinence. The vote, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity was declared, is thus expressed, " That Robert Walpole, Esq; having
 " been this session of parliament committed a pri-
 " soner to the Tower, and expelled this house
 " for a breach of trust in the execution of his of-
 " fice, and notorious corruption when a secretary
 " at war, was and is incapable of being elected a
 " member to serve in this present parliament." Now, Sir, to my understanding, no proposition of this kind can be more evident, than that the house of commons, by this very vote, themselves understood, and meant not to declare, that Mr. Walpole's incapacity arose from the crimes he had committed,

mitted, nor from the punishment the house annexed to them. The high breach of trust, the notorious corruption are stated in the strongest terms. They do not tell us he was incapable, because he was expelled, but because he had been guilty of such offences as justly rendered him unworthy of a seat in parliament. If they had intended to fix the disability upon his expulsion alone, the mention of his crimes in the same vote, would have been highly improper. It could only perplex the minds of the electors, who, if they collected any thing from so confused a declaration of the law of parliament, must have concluded that their representative had been declared incapable because he was highly guilty, not because he had been punished. But even admitting them to have understood it in the other sense, they must then, from the very terms of the vote, have united the idea of his being sent to the Tower with that of his expulsion, and considered his incapacity as the joint effect of both.

I do not mean to give an opinion upon the justice of the proceedings of the house of commons, with regard to Mr. Walpole ; but certainly, if I admitted their censure to be well founded, I could no way avoid agreeing with them in the consequence they drew from it. I could never have a doubt,
in

in law or reason, that a man convicted of a high breach of trust, and of a notorious corruption, in the execution of a public office, was and ought to be incapable of sitting in the same parliament. Far from attempting to invalidate that vote, I should have wished that the incapacity declared by it could legally have been continued for ever.

Now, Sir, observe how forcibly the argument returns. The house of commons, upon the face of their proceedings, had the strongest motives to declare Mr. Walpole incapable of being re-elected. They thought such a man unworthy to sit among them. To that point they proceeded no further; for they respected the rights of the people, while they asserted their own. They did not infer, from Mr Walpole's incapacity, that his opponent was duly elected; on the contrary they declared Mr. Taylor "Not duly elected," and the election itself void.

Such, however, is the precedent, which my honest friend assures us is strictly in point to prove, that expulsion of itself creates an incapacity of being elected. If it had been so, the present house of commons should at least have followed strictly the example before them, and should have stated to us, in the same vote, the crimes for which they expelled Mr. Wilkes; whereas they resolve simply, that "having been expelled, he was and is incapable."

“pable.” In this proceeding, I am authorised to affirm, they have neither statute nor custom, nor reason, nor one single precedent to support them. On the other side, there is indeed a precedent so strongly in point, that all the enchanted castles of ministerial magic fall before it. In the year 1638, (a period which the rankest tory dare not except against) Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament. The ministry have precluded themselves from all objections drawn from the cause of his expulsion, for they affirm absolutely that expulsion of itself creates the disability. Now, Sir, let sophistry evade, let falsehood assert, and impudence deny—here stands the precedent, a land-mark to direct us through a troubled sea of controversy, conspicuous and unremoved.

I have dwelt the longer upon the discussion of this point, because in *my* opinion it comprehends the whole question. The rest is unworthy of notice. We are enquiring whether incapacity be or be not created by expulsion. In the cases of Bedford and Malden, the incapacity of the persons returned was matter of public notoriety, for it was created by act of Parliament. But really, Sir, my honest friend's suppositions are as unfavourable to him as his facts. He well knows that the clergy, besides that they are represented in common with
their

their fellow subjects, have also a separate parliament of their own;—that their incapacity to sit in the house of commons has been confirmed by repeated decisions of the house, and that the law of parliament, declared by those decisions, has been for above two centuries notorious and undisputed. The author is certainly at liberty to fancy cases, and make whatever comparisons he thinks proper; his suppositions still continue at a distance from fact, as his wild discourses are from solid argument.

The conclusion of his book is candid to an extreme. He offers to grant me all I desire. He thinks he may safely admit that the case of Mr. Walpole makes directly against him, for it seems he has one grand solution *in petto* for all difficulties. *If, says he, I were to allow all this, it will only prove, that the law of election was different, in queen Ann's time, from what it is at present.*

This indeed is more than I expected. The principle, I know, has been maintained in fact, but I never expected to see it so formally declared.

What can he mean? does he assume this language to satisfy the doubts of the people, or does he mean to rouse their indignation; are the ministry daring enough to affirm that the house of commons have a right to make and unmake the law of parliament at their pleasure?—does the law of
parliament,

parliament, which we are so often told is the law of the land—does the common right of every subject of the realm depend upon an arbitrary, capricious vote of one branch of the legislature—The voice of truth and reason must be silent.

The ministry tell us plainly that this is no longer a question of right, but of power and force alone. What was law yesterday is not law to-day ; and now it seems we have no better rule to live by than the temporary discretion and fluctuating integrity of the house of commons.

Professions of patriotism are become stale and ridiculous. For my own part, I claim no merit from endeavouring to do a service to my fellow subjects. I have done it to the best of my understanding ; and without looking for the approbation of other men, my conscience is satisfied. What remains to be done concerns the collective body of the people. They are now to determine for themselves, whether they will firmly and constitutionally assert their rights, or make an humble-flavish surrender of them at the feet of the ministry. To a generous mind there cannot be a doubt. We owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire those rights, which they have delivered to our care ; we owe it to our posterity, not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed. But if it were possible for us to be sensible of these sacred claims, there is
yet

yet an obligation binding upon ourselves, from which nothing can acquit us—a personal interest, which we cannot surrender. To alienate even our own rights, would be a crime as much more enormous than suicide, as a life of civil society and freedom is superior to a bare existence; and if life be the bounty of heaven, we scornfully reject the noblest part of the gift, if we consent to surrender that certain rule of living, without which the condition of human nature is not only miserable, but contemptible,

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XX.

S I R, *August 22, 1769,*

I Must beg of you to print a few lines, in explanation of some passages in my last letter, which I see have been misunderstood.

1. When I said, that the house of commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity on his expulsion *only*, I meant no more than to deny the general proposition, that expulsion *alone* creates the incapacity. If there be any thing ambiguous in the expression, I beg leave to explain it by saying, that, in my opinion, expulsion neither creates,

nor

nor in any part contributes to create the incapacity in question.

2. I carefully avoided entering into the merits of Mr. Walpole's case. I did not enquire whether the house of commons acted justly, or whether they truly declared the law of parliament. My remarks went only to their apparent meaning and intention, as it stands declared in their own resolution.

3. I never meant to affirm, that a commitment to the Tower created a disqualification. On the contrary, I considered that idea as an absurdity into which the ministry must inevitably fall, if they reasoned right upon their own principles.

The case of Mr Wollaston speaks for itself. The ministry assert that expulsion alone creates an absolute, complete incapacity to be re-elected to sit in the same parliament. This proposition they have uniformly maintained, without any condition or modification whatsoever. Mr. Wollaston was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his seat in the same parliament.—I leave it to the public to determine, whether this be a plain matter of fact, or mere nonsense and declamation.

J U N I U S.

L E T.

L E T T E R XXI.

To his Grace the DUKE of BEDFORD.

My LORD,

Sep. 19, 1769,

YOU are so little accustomed to receive any marks of respect or esteem from the public, that if, in the following lines, a compliment or expression of applause should escape me, I fear you would consider it as a mockery of your established character, and perhaps an insult to your understanding. You have nice feelings, my Lord, if we may judge from your resentments. Cautious therefore of giving offence, where you have so little deserved it, I shall leave the illustration of your virtues to other hands. Your friends have a privilege to play upon the easiness of your temper, or possibly they are better acquainted with your good qualities than I am. You have done good by stealth. The rest is upon record. You have still left ample room for speculation, when panegyric is exhausted.

You are indeed a very considerable man. The highest rank ;—a splendid fortune ; and a name, glorious till it was yours, were sufficient to have supported you with meaner abilities than I think you possess. From the first, you derived a constitutional claim to respect ; from the second, a
natural

natural extensive authority;—the last created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The use you have made of these uncommon advantages might have been more honourable to yourself, but could not be more instructive to mankind. We may trace it in the veneration of your country, the choice of your friends, and in the accomplishment of every sanguine hope, which the public might have conceived from the illustrious name of Russel.

The eminence of your station gave you a commanding prospect of your duty. The road, which led to honour, was open to your view. You could not lose it by mistake, and you had no temptation to depart from it by design. Compare the natural dignity and importance of the richest Peer of England;—the noble independence, which he might have maintained in parliament; and the real interest and respect, which he might have acquired, not only in parliament, but through the whole kingdom; compare these glorious distinctions with the ambition of holding a share in government, the emoluments of a place, the sale of a borough, or the purchase of a corporation; and though you may not regret the virtues, which create respect, you may see, with anguish, how much real importance and authority you have lost. Consider the character of an independent virtuous Duke of Bedford; imagine what he might be in this country,

try, then reflect one moment upon what you are. If it be possible for me to withdraw my attention from the fact, I will tell you in theory what such a man might be.

Conscious of his own weight and importance, his conduct in parliament would be directed by nothing but the constitutional duty of a peer. He would consider himself as a guardian of the laws. Willing to support the just measures of government, but determined to observe the conduct of the minister with suspicion, he would oppose the violence of faction with as much firmness, as the encroachments of prerogative. He would be as little capable of bargaining with the minister for places for himself or his dependants, as of descending to mix himself in the intrigues of opposition. Whenever an important question called for his opinion in parliament, he would be heard, by the most profligate minister, with deference and respect. His authority would either sanctify or disgrace the measures of government.—The people would look up to him as to their protector, and a virtuous prince would have one honest man in his dominions, in whose integrity and judgment he might safely confide. If it should be the will of providence to afflict him with a domestic misfortune, he would submit to the stroke with feeling, but not without dignity. He would consider the people

as

as his children, and receive a generous heart-felt consolation, in the sympathizing tears, and blessings of his country.

Your Grace may probably discover something more intelligible in the negative part of this illustrious character. The man I have described would never prostitute his dignity in parliament by an indecent violence either in opposing or defending a minister. He would not at one moment rancorously persecute, at another basely cringe to the favourite of his Sovereign. After outraging the royal dignity with peremptory conditions, little short of menace and hostility, he would never descend to the humility of soliciting an interview with the Favourite, and of offering to recover, at any price, the honour of his friendship. Though deceived perhaps in his youth, he would not, through the course of a long life, have invariably chosen his friends from among the most profligate of mankind. His own honour would have forbidden him from mixing his private pleasures or conversation with jockeys, gamesters, blasphemers, gladiators, or buffoons. He would then have never felt, much less would he have submitted to the dishonest necessity of engaging in the interests and intrigues of his dependants, of supplying their vices, or relieving their beggary at the expence of his country. He would

would not have betrayed such ignorance, or such contempt of the constitution as openly to avow, in a court of justice, the purchase and sale of a borough. He would not have thought it consistent with his rank in the state, or even with his personal importance, to be the little tyrant of a little corporation. He would never have been insulted with virtues which he had laboured to extinguish, nor suffered the disgrace of a mortifying defeat, which has made him ridiculous and contemptible, even to the few by whom he was not detested. I reverence the afflictions of a good man—his sorrows are sacred. But how can we take part in the distresses of a man, whom we can neither love nor esteem; or feel for a calamity, of which he himself is insensible? Where was the father's heart, when he could look for, or find an immediate consolation for the loss of an only son, in consultations and bargains for a place at court, and even in the misery of balloting at the India House!

Admitting then that you have mistaken or deserted those honourable principles, which ought to have directed your conduct; admitting that you have as little claim to private affection as to public esteem, let us see with what abilities, with what degree of judgment you have carried your own system into execution. A great man, in the success,
and

and even in the magnitude of his crimes, finds a rescue from contempt. Your Grace is every way unfortunate. Yet I will not look back to those ridiculous scenes, by which in your earlier days, you thought it an honour to be distinguished; the recorded stripes, the public infamy, your own sufferings, or Mr. Rigby's fortitude. These events undoubtedly left an impression, though not upon your mind. To such a mind, it may perhaps be a pleasure to reflect, that there is hardly a corner of any of his Majesty's kingdoms, except France, in which, at one time or other, your valuable life has not been in danger. Amiable man! we see and acknowledge the protection of Providence, by which you have so often escaped the personal detestation of your fellow subjects, and are still reserved for the public justice of your country.

Your history begins to be important at that auspicious period, at which you were deputed to represent the Earl of Bute, at the court of Versailles. It was an honourable office, and executed with the same spirit with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambassador, who would submit to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honourable condition for his Sovereign. Their business required a man who had as little feeling for his own dignity as for the welfare of his country; and they found him in the first rank of the nobility.

Belleisle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, and the Havanna, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for negotiation. My lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it possible that so many public sacrifices should have been made, without some private compensations. Your conduct carries with it an interior evidence, beyond all the legal proof of a court of justice. Even the callous pride of Lord Egremont was alarmed. He saw and felt his own dishonour in corresponding with you; and there certainly was a moment, at which he meant to have resisted, had not a fatal lethargy prevailed over his faculties, and carried all sense and memory away with it.

I will not pretend to specify the secret terms on which you were invited to support an administration on which Lord Bute pretended to leave in full possession of their ministerial authority, and perfectly masters of themselves. He was not of a temper to relinquish power, tho' he retired from employment. Stipulations were certainly made between your Grace and him, and certainly violated. After two years submission, you thought you had collected a strength sufficient to control his influence, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, because you had been a slave. When you found yourself mistaken in your opinion of your gracious

Master's

Master's firmness, disappointment got the better of all your humble discretion, and carried you to an excess of outrage to his person, as distant from true spirit, as from all decency and respect. After robbing him of the rights of a King, you would not permit him to preserve the honour of a Gentleman. It was then Lord Weymouth was nominated to Ireland, and dispatched (we well remember with what indecent hurry) to plunder the treasury of the first fruits of an employment which you well knew he was never to execute.

This sudden declaration of war against the Favourite might have given you a momentary merit with the public, if it had either been adopted upon principle, or maintained with resolution. Without looking back to all your former servility, we need only observe your subsequent conduct, to see upon what motives you acted. Apparently united with Mr. Grenville, you waited until Lord Rockingham's feeble administration should dissolve in its own weakness.—The moment their dismissal was suspected, the moment you perceived that another system was adopted in the closet, you thought it no disgrace to return to your former dependance, and solicit once more the friendship of Lord Bute. You begged an interview, at which he had spirit enough to treat you with contempt.

It would now be of little use to point out, by what a train of weak, injudicious measures, it became necessary, or was thought so, to call you back to a share in the administration. The Friends, whom you did not in the least instance desert, were not of a character to add strength or credit to Government; and at that time your alliance with the Duke of Grafton was, I presume, hardly foreseen. We must look for other stipulations, to account for that sudden resolution of the closet, by which three of your dependants (whose characters, I think, cannot be less respected than they are) were advanced to offices, through which you might again control the minister, and probably engross the whole direction of affairs.

The possession of absolute power is now once more within your reach. The measures you have taken to obtain and confirm it, are too gross to escape the eyes of a discerning judicious prince. His palace is besieged; the lines of circumvallation are drawing round him; and unless he finds a resource in his own activity, or in the attachment of the real friends of his family, the best of princes must submit to the confinement of a state prisoner, until your Grace's death, or some less fortunate event, shall raise the siege. For the present, you may safely resume that stile of insult and menace, which even a private gentleman cannot submit to

hear

hear without being contemptible. Mr. Mackenzie's history is not yet forgotten, and you may find precedents enough of the mode in which an imperious subject may signify his pleasure to his sovereign. Where will this gracious monarch look for assistance, when the wretched Grafton could forget his obligations to his master, and desert him for a hollow alliance with *such* a man as the Duke of Bedford.

Let us consider you then as arrived at the summit of worldly greatness: let us suppose, that all your plans of avarice and ambition are accomplished, and your most sanguine wishes gratified in the fear, as well as the hatred of the people: Can age itself forget that you are now in the last act of life? Can grey hairs make folly venerable? and is there no period to be reserved for meditation and retirement? For shame! my Lord: Let it not be recorded of you, that the latest moments of your life were dedicated to the same unworthy pursuits, the same busy agitations, in which your youth and manhood were exhausted. Consider, that, although you cannot disgrace your former life, you are violating the character of age, and exposing the impotent imbecility, after you have lost the vigour of the passions.

Your friends will ask, perhaps, Whither shall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in
the

the metropolis, where his life has been so often threatened, and his palace so often attacked? If he returns to Woburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth, his destruction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable. No honest Englishman will ever forget his attachment, nor any honest Scotchman forgive his treachery to Lord Bute. At every town he enters, he must change his liveries and his name. Which ever way he flies, the *Hue and Cry* of the country pursues him.

In another kingdom indeed, the blessings of his administration have been more sensibly felt;—his virtues better understood;—or at worst, they will not, for him alone, forget their hospitality.—As well might VERRES have returned to Sicily. You have twice escaped, my Lord; beware of a third experiment. The indignation of a whole people, plundered, insulted, and oppressed as they have been, will not always be disappointed.

It is in vain therefore to shift the scene. You can no more fly from your enemies than from yourself. Persecuted abroad, you look into your own heart for consolation, and find nothing but reproaches and despair. But, my Lord, you may quit the field of business, though not the field of danger;

danger; and though you cannot be safe, you may cease to be ridiculous. I fear you have listened too long to the advice of those pernicious friends, with whose interests you have sordidly united your own, and for whom you have sacrificed every thing that ought to be dear to a man of honour. They are still base enough to encourage the follies of your age, as they once did the vices of your youth. As little acquainted with the rules of decorum, as with the laws of morality, they will not suffer you to profit by experience, nor even to consult the propriety of a bad character. Even now they tell you, that life is no more than a dramatic scene, in which the hero should preserve his consistency to the last, and that as you lived without virtue, you should die without repentance.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XXII.

To JUNIUS.

S I R,

Sept. 20, 1769.

HAVING accidentally seen a *republication* of your letters, wherein you have been pleased to *assert*, that I had *sold* the companions of my success; I am again * obliged to declare the said assertion

* Vide letters V. and VII. pages 29 and 40, in answer to Junius; and likewise Sir William's answer to *An half-pay subscription*, letter XIV. page 62.

assertion to be a most *infamous* and *malicious falsehood*; and I *again* call upon you to stand forth, avow yourself, and *prove* the charge. If you can make it out to the satisfaction of any one man in the kingdom, I will be content to be thought the worst man in it; if you do not, what must the nation think of you? *Party* has nothing to do in this affair: You have made a personal attack upon my honour, defamed me by a most vile calumny, which might possibly have sunk into oblivion, had not such uncommon pains been taken to renew and perpetuate this scandal, chiefly because it has been told in good language: For I give you full credit for your elegant diction, well turned periods, and attic wit; but wit is oftentimes false, though it may appear brilliant; which is exactly the case of your *whole performance*. But, Sir, I am obliged in the most *serious* manner to accuse you of being guilty of *falsities*. You have said the thing that is *not*. To support your story, you have recourse to the following *irresistable* argument: ‘You *sold* the companions of your victory, because when the sixteenth regiment was given to *you*, you was *silent*.’ The conclusion is inevitable. I believe that such *deep* and *acute reasoning* could only come from such an extraordinary writer as *Junius*. But unfortunately for you, the *premises* as well as the *conclusion* are absolutely *false*. Many applications have

have been made to the ministry on the subject of the Manilla Ransom *since* the time of my being colonel of that regiment. As I have for some years quitted London, I was obliged to have recourse to the honourable colonel Monson and Sir Samuel Cornish to *negotiate* for me : In the last autumn I personally delivered a memorial to the Earl of Shelburne at his seat in Wiltshire. As you have told us of your importance, that you are a person of *rank* and *fortune*, and above a *common* bribe, you may in all probability be not *unknown* to his lordship, who can satisfy you of the truth of what I say. But I shall now take the liberty, Sir, to seize your battery, and turn it against yourself. If your puerile and tinsel logic could carry the least weight or conviction with it, how must you stand affected by the *inevitable conclusion*, as you are pleased to term it ? According to *Junius*, *Silence is Guilt*. In many of the public papers, you have been called in the most direct and offensive terms a *liar* and a *coward*. When did you reply to these foul accusations ? You have been quite *silent* ; quite chop-fallen : Therefore, *because* you was *silent*, the nation has a right to pronounce you to be both a liar and a coward from your own argument : But, Sir, I will give you fair play ; will afford you an opportunity to wipe off the first appellation ; by desiring the proofs of your charge

against

against me. Produce them ! To wipe off the last, produce *yourself*. People cannot bear any longer your *lion's skin*, and the despicable *imposture* of the *old Roman name* which you have *affected*. For the future assume the name of some *modern* bravo and dark assassin : Let your appellation have some affinity to your practice. But if I must *perish*, *Junius*, let me *perish* in the face of day ; be for *once* a generous and open enemy. I allow that gothic *appeals* to cold iron are no better proofs of a man's honesty and veracity than hot iron and burning plowshares are of *female chastity* : But a soldier's honour is as delicate as a woman's ; it must not be suspected ; you have dared to throw more than a suspicion upon mine : You cannot but know the consequence, which even the meekness of Christianity would pardon me for, after the injury you have done me.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

Clifton, Sept. 14, 1769.

LET

L E T T E R XXIII.

Hæret lateri letbalis arundo.

To Sir WILLIAM DRAPER,
Knight of the Bath.

S I R, Sept. 25. 1769.

AFTER so long an interval, I did not expect to see the debate revived between us. My answer to your last letter shall be short; for I write to you with reluctance, and I hope we shall now conclude our correspondence for ever.

Had you been originally and without provocation attacked by an anonymous writer, you would have some right to demand his name. But in this cause you are a volunteer. You engaged in it with the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier. You were content to set your name in opposition to a man, who would probably continue in concealment. You understood the terms upon which we were to correspond, and gave at least a tacit assent to them. After voluntarily attacking me under the character of Junius, what possible right have you to know me under any other? Will you forgive me if I insinuate to you, that you foresaw some honour in the apparent spirit of coming forward in person, and that you were not quite indifferent to the display of your literary qualifications?

You

You cannot but know that the republication of my letters was no more than a catchpenny contrivance of a printer, in which it was impossible I should be concerned, and for which I am no way answerable. At the same time I wish you to understand, that if I do not take the trouble of reprinting these papers, it is not from any fear of giving offence to Sir William Draper.

Your remarks upon a signature, adopted merely for distinction, are unworthy of notice; but when you tell me I have submitted to be called a liar and a coward, I must ask you in my turn, whether you seriously think it any way incumbent upon me to take notice of the silly invectives of every simpleton, who writes in a news-paper; and what opinion you would have conceived of my discretion, if I had suffered myself to be the dupe of so shallow an artifice?

Your appeal to the sword, though consistent enough with your late profession, will neither prove your innocence nor clear you from suspicion.—Your complaints with regard to the Manilla ransom were, for a considerable time, a distress to government. You were appointed (greatly out of your turn) to the command a regiment, and *during that administration* we heard no more of Sir William Draper. The facts, of which I speak, may indeed be variously accounted for, but they are

are too notorious to be denied; and I think you might have learnt at the university, that a false conclusion is an error in argument, not a breach of veracity. Your solicitations, I doubt not, were renewed under *another* administration. Admitting the fact, I fear an indifferent person would only infer from it, that experience had made you acquainted with the benefits of complaining. Remember, Sir, that you have yourself confessed, that, *considering the critical situation of this country, the ministry are in the right to temporise with Spain.* This confession reduces you to an unfortunate dilemma. By renewing your solicitations, you must either mean to force your country into a war at a most unseasonable juncture; or, having no view or expectation of that kind, that you look for nothing but a private compensation to yourself.

As to me, it is by no means necessary that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and the most powerful men in this country, though I may be indifferent about yours. Though *you* would fight, there are others who would assassinate.

But after all, Sir, where is the injury? You assure me, that my logic is puerile and tinsel, that it carries not the least weight or conviction, that my premises are false, and my conclusions absurd. If this be a just description of me, how is it possible
for

for such a writer to disturb your peace of mind, or injure a character so well established as yours? Take care, Sir William, how you indulge this unruly temper, lest the world should suspect that conscience has some share in your resentments. You have more to fear from the treachery of your own passions, than from any malevolence of mine.

I believe, Sir, you will never know me. A considerable time must certainly elapse before we are personally acquainted. You need not however regret the delay, or suffer an apprehension that any length of time can restore you to the Christian meekness of your temper, and disappoint your present indignation. If I understand your character, there is in your own breast a repository, in which your resentments may be safely laid up for future occasions, and preserved without the hazard of diminution. The *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auētaque promeret*, I thought had only belonged to the worst character of antiquity. The text is in Tacitus—you know best where to look for the commentary.

J U N I U S.

LET-

L E T T E R XXIV.

A WORD AT PARTING TO JUNIUS.

SIR,

AS you have not favoured me with either of the *explanations* demanded of you, I can have nothing more to say to you upon my *own* account. Your mercy to me, or tenderness for yourself, has been very great. The public will judge of your *motives*. If your excess of modesty forbids you to produce either the proofs, or yourself, I will excuse it. Take courage; I have not the temper of Tiberius, any more than the rank or power. You, indeed, are a tyrant of another sort, and upon your political bed of torture can excruciate any subject, from a first minister down to such a grub or butterfly as myself: like another detested tyrant of antiquity, can make the wretched sufferer fit the bed, if the bed will not fit the sufferer, by disjointing or tearing the trembling limbs until they are stretched to its extremity. But courage, constancy and patience, under torments, have sometimes caused the most hardened monsters to relent, and forgive the object of their cruelty. You, Sir, are determined to try all that human nature can endure, until she expires: else, was it possible that you could be the author of that most inhuman letter to the Duke of Bedford? I have read with
astonish-

astonishment and horror; where, Sir, where were the feelings of your own heart, when you could upbraid a most affectionate father with the loss of his only and most amiable son? Read over again those cruel lines of yours, and let them wring your very soul? Cannot political questions be discussed without descending to the most odious personalities? Must you go wantonly out of your way to torment declining age, because the Duke of Bedford may have quarrelled with those whose cause and politics you espouse? For shame! for shame! As you have *spoke daggers* to him, you may justly dread the *use* of them against your own breast, did a want of courage, or of noble sentiments, stimulate him to such mean revenge. He is above it; he is brave. Do you fancy that your own base arts have infected our whole island? But your own reflections, your own conscience, must and will, if you have any spark of humanity remaining, give him most ample vengeance. Not all the power of words with which you are so graced, will ever wash out, or even palliate this foul blot in your character. I have not time at present to dissect your letter so minutely as I could wish, but I will be bold enough to say, that it is (as to reason and argument) the most extraordinary piece of *florid impotence* that was ever imposed upon the eyes and ears of the too credulous

lous and deluded mob. It accuses the Duke of Bedford of high treason. Upon what foundation? You tell us, "that the Duke's *pecuniary* " *character* makes it more than *probable*, that he " could not have made such sacrifices at the peace, " without *some private compensations*; that his conduct carried with it an interior evidence, beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice."

My academical education, Sir, bids me tell you that it is necessary to establish the truth of your first proposition, before you presume to draw inferences from it. First prove the avarice before you make the rash, hasty, and most wicked conclusion. This father, *Junius*, whom you call avaricious, allowed that son eight thousand pounds a year. Upon his most unfortunate death, which your usual good-nature took care to remind him of, he greatly increased the jointure of the afflicted lady his widow. Is this avarice? Is this doing good by *stealth*? It is upon record.

If exact order, method, and true economy as a master of a family; if splendor and just magnificence, without wild waste and thoughtless extravagance, may constitute the character of an avaricious man, the Duke is guilty. But for a moment let us admit that an ambassador may love money too much; what proof do you give that he has taken any to betray his country? Is it

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hearsay;

hearfay ; or the evidence of letters, or ocular ;
 or the evidence of those concerned in this black
 affair ? Produce your authorities to the public. It
 is a most impudent kind of sorcery to attempt to
 blind us with the smoke, without convincing us
 that the fire has existed. You first brand him
 with a vice that he is free from, to render him
 odious and suspected. Suspicion is the foul wea-
 pon with which you make all your chief attacks ;
 with that you stab. But shall one of the first sub-
 jects of the realm be ruined in his fame ? shall
 even his life be in constant danger, from a charge
 built upon such sandy foundations ? must his
 house be besieged by lawless ruffians, his jour-
 nies impeded, and even the asylum of an altar
 be insecure from assertions so base and false ?
 Potent as he is, the Duke is amenable to jus-
 tice ; if guilty, punishable. The parliament is the
 high and solemn tribunal for matters of such great
 moment. To that be they submitted. But I hope
 also that some notice will be taken of, and some
 punishment inflicted upon, false accusers, especially
 upon such, *Junius*, who are wilfully false. In any
 truth I will agree even with *Junius* ; will agree
 with him that it is highly unbecoming the dignity
 of peers to tamper with boroughs. Aristocracy is
 as fatal as democracy. Our constitution admits of
 neither. It loves a King, Lords, and Commons
 really

really chosen by the unbought suffrages of a free people. But if corruption only shifts hands: if the wealthy commoner gives the bribe, instead of the potent peer, is the state better served by this exchange? Is the real emancipation of the borough effected, because new parchment bonds may possibly supercede the old? To say the truth, wherever such practices prevail, they are equally criminal to and destructive of our freedom.

The rest of your declamation is scarce worth considering, excepting for the elegance of the language. Like Hamlet in the play, you produce two pictures; you tell us, that one is not like the Duke of Bedford; then you bring a most hideous caricatura, and tell us of the resemblance; but *multum abludit imago*.

All your long tedious accounts of the ministerial quarrels, and the intrigues of the cabinet, are reducible to a few short lines; and to convince you, Sir, that I do not mean to flatter any minister, either past or present, these are my thoughts: they seem to have acted like lovers, or children; have pouted, quarrelled, cried, kissed, and been friends again, as the objects of desire, the ministerial rattles, have been put into their hands. But such proceedings are very unworthy of the gravity and dignity of a great nation. We do not want men of abi-

of abilities; but we have wanted steadiness; we want unanimity; your letters, *Junius*, will not contribute thereto. You may one day expire by a flame of your own kindling. But it is my humble opinion that lenity and moderation, pardon and oblivion *, will disappoint the efforts of all the seditious in the land, and extinguish their wide spreading fires. I have lived with this sentiment; with this I shall die.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

Clifton, Oct. 2. 1769.

L E T T E R XXV.

S I R,

October 13, 1769.

IF Sir William Draper's bed be a bed of tortures he has made it for himself. I shall never interrupt his repose. Having changed the subject, there are parts of his last letter not undeserving a reply. Leaving his private character and conduct out of the question, I shall consider him merely in the capacity of an author, whose labours certainly do no discredit to a news-paper.

We say, in common discourse, that a man may be his own enemy, and the frequency of the fact makes the expression intelligible. But that a man
should

* Sir William Draper's proposal for that effect, vide Letter IV. page 27.

should be the bitterest enemy of his friends, implies a contradiction of a peculiar nature. There is something in it, which cannot be conceived without a confusion of ideas, nor expressed without a solecism in language. Sir William Draper is still that fatal friend Lord Granby found him. Yet I am ready to do justice to his generosity ; it indeed it be not something more than generous, to be the voluntary advocate of men, who think themselves injured by his assistance, and to consider nothing in the cause he adopts, but the difficulty of defending it. I thought however he had been better read in the history of the human heart, than to compare or confound the tortures of the body with those of the mind. He ought to have known, though perhaps it might not be his interest to confess, that no outward tyranny can reach the mind. If conscience plays the tyrant, it would be greatly for the benefit of the world, that she were more arbitrary, and far less placable, than some men find her.

But it seems I have outraged the feelings of a father's heart.——Am I indeed so injudicious ? Does Sir William Draper think I would have hazarded my credit with a generous nation, by so gross a violation of the laws of humanity ? Does he think I am so little acquainted with the first and noblest characteristic of Englishmen ? Or how will
he

he reconcile such folly with an understanding so full of artifice as mine? Had he been a father, he would have been but little offended with the severity of the reproach, for his mind would have been filled with the justice of it. He would have seen that I did not insult the feelings of a father, but the father who felt nothing. He would have trusted to the evidence of his own paternal heart, and boldly denied the possibility of the fact, instead of defending it. Against whom then will his honest indignation be directed, when I assure him, that this whole town beheld the Duke of Bedford's conduct, upon the death of his son, with horror and astonishment. Sir William Draper does himself but little honour in opposing the general sense of his country. The people are seldom wrong in their opinions—in their sentiments they are never mistaken. There may be a vanity perhaps in a singular way of thinking—but when a man professes a want of those feelings, which do honour to the multitude, he hazards something infinitely more important than the character of his understanding. After all, as Sir William may possibly be in earnest in his anxiety for the Duke of Bedford, I should be glad to relieve him from it. He may rest assured that this worthy nobleman laughs, with equal indifference, at my reproaches, and Sir William's distress about him. But here let it stop. Even the

the Duke of Bedford, insensible as he is, will consult the tranquillity of his life, in not provoking the moderation of my temper. If, from the profoundest contempt, I should ever rise into anger, he should soon find, that all I have already said of him was lenity and compassion.

Out of a long catalogue, Sir William Draper has confined himself to the refutation of two charges only. The rest he had not time to discuss; and, indeed, it would have been a laborious undertaking. To draw up a defence of such a series of enormities, would have required a life at least as long as that, which has been uniformly employed in the practice of them. The public opinion of the Duke of Bedford's extreme economy is, it seems, entirely without foundation. Though not very prodigal abroad, in his own family at least, he is regular and magnificent. He pays his debts, abhors a beggar, and makes a handsome provision for his son. His charity has improved upon the proverb, and ended where it began. Admitting the whole force of this single instance of his domestic generosity (wonderful indeed considering the narrowness of his fortune, and the little merit of his only son) the public may still perhaps be dissatisfied, and demand some other less equivocal proofs of his munificence. Sir William Draper should have entered boldly into the detail—of indigence

digence relieved—of arts encouraged—of science patronized;—men of learning protected, and works of genius rewarded—in short, had there been a single instance, besides Mr. Rigby, of blushing merit brought forward by the Duke, for the service of the public, it should not have been omitted.

I wish it were possible to establish my inference with the same certainty, on which I believe the principle is founded. My conclusion however was not drawn from the principle alone. I am not so unjust as to reason from one crime to another; though, I think, that, of all the vices, avarice is most apt to taint and corrupt the heart. I combined the known temper of the man with the extravagant concessions made by the ambassador; and, though I doubt not sufficient care was taken to leave no document of any treasonable negotiation, I still maintain that the conduct * of this minister carries with it an internal and a convincing evidence against him. Sir William Draper seems not to know the value or force of such a proof. He will not permit us to judge of the motives of men, by the manifest tendency of their actions,

nor

* If Sir W. D. will take the trouble of looking into Torcy's Memoirs, he will see with what little ceremony a bribe may be offered to a Duke, and with what little ceremony it was *only not accepted*.

nor by the notorious character of their minds. He calls for papers and witnesses, with a sort of triumphant security, as if nothing could be true, but what could be proved in a court of justice. Yet a religious man might have remembered, upon what foundation some truths, most interesting to mankind, have been received and established. If it were not for the internal evidence, which the purest of religions carries with it, what would have become of his once well-quoted decalogue, and of the meekness of his Christianity?

The generous warmth of his resentment makes him confound the order of events. He forgets that the insults and distresses which the Duke of Bedford has suffered, and which Sir William has lamented with many delicate touches of the true pathetic, were only recorded in my letter to his Grace, not occasioned by it. It was a simple, candid narrative of facts; though, for aught I know, it may carry with it something prophetic. His Grace undoubtedly has received several ominous hints; and I think, in certain circumstances, a wise man would do well to prepare himself for the event.

But I have a charge of a heavier nature against Sir William Draper. He tells us that the Duke of Bedford is amenable to justice—that Parliament is a high and solemn tribunal; and that, if guilty,

he

may be punished by due course of law; and all this, he says, with as much gravity as if he believed every word of the matter. I hope indeed the day of impeachments will arrive, before this nobleman escapes out of life—but to refer us to that mode of proceeding now, with such a ministry, and such a house of Commons as the present, what is it, but an indecent mockery of the common sense of the nation? I think he might have contented himself with defending the greatest enemy, without insulting the distresses of his country.

His concluding declaration of his opinion, with respect to the present condition of affairs, is too loose and undetermined to be of any service to the public. How strange is it that this gentleman should dedicate so much time and argument to the defence of worthless or indifferent characters, while he gives but seven solitary lines to the only subject, which can deserve his attention, or do credit to his abilities.

J U N I U S.

L E T T E R XXVI.

S I R,

October 16, 1769.

IT is not wonderful that the great cause, in which this country is engaged, should have roused

roused and engrossed the whole attention of the people. I rather admire the generous spirit with which they feel and assert their interest in this important question, than blame them for their indifference about any other. When the constitution is openly invaded, when the first, original right of the people, from which all laws derive their authority, is directly attacked, inferior grievances naturally lose their force, and are suffered to pass by without punishment or observation. The present ministry are as singularly marked by their fortune, as by their crimes. Instead of atoning for their former conduct by any wise or popular measure, they have found in the enormity of one fact, a cover and defence for a series of measures, which must have been fatal to any other administration. I fear we are too remiss in observing the whole of their proceedings. Struck with the principal figure, we do not sufficiently mark in what manner the canvass is filled up. Yet surely it is not a less crime, nor less fatal in its consequences, to encourage a flagrant breach of the law by a military force, than to make use of the forms of parliament to destroy the constitution. The Ministry seem determined to give us a choice of difficulties, and, if possible, to perplex us with the multitude of their offences. The expedient is well worthy of the Duke of Grafton. But though he has preserved
a gradation

gradation and variety in his measures, we should remember that the principle is uniform. Dictated by the same spirit, they deserve the same attention. The following fact, though of the most alarming nature, has not yet been clearly stated to the public, nor have the consequences of it been sufficiently understood. Had I taken it up at an earlier period, I should have been accused of an uncandid, malignant precipitation, as if I watched for an unfair advantage against the ministry, and would not allow them a reasonable time to do their duty. They now stand without excuse. Instead of employing the leisure they have had, in a strict examination of the offence, and punishing the offenders, they seem to have considered that indulgence as a security to them, that with a little time and management the whole affair might be buried in silence and utterly forgotten.

A Major General * of the army is arrested by the sheriffs officers for a considerable debt. He persuades them to conduct him to the Tilt-Yard in St. James's Park, under some pretence of business, which it imported him to settle before he was confined. He applies to a serjeant, not immediately on duty, to assist with some of his companions

* Major General Gansel;

nions in favouring his escape. He attempts it. A bustle ensues. The bailiffs claim their prisoner. An officer of the guards, not then on duty, takes part in the affair, applies to the lieutenant commanding the Tilt-Yard guard, and urges him to turn out his guard to relieve a general officer. The lieutenant declines interfering in person, but stands at a distance and suffers the business to be done. The other officer takes upon himself to order out the guard. In a moment they are in arms, quit their guard, march, rescue the General, and drive away the sheriffs officers, who in vain represent their right to the prisoner, and the nature of the arrest. The soldiers first conduct the General into their guard-room, then escort him to a place of safety; with bayonets fixed, and in all the forms of military triumph. I will not enlarge upon the various circumstances, which attended this atrocious proceeding. The personal injury received by the officers of the law in the execution of their duty, may perhaps be atoned for by some private compensation. I consider nothing but the wound, which has been given to the law itself, to which no remedy has been applied, no satisfaction made. Neither is it my design to dwell upon the misconduct of the parties concerned, any farther than is necessary to shew the behaviour of the ministry in its true light. I would make every
 compassionate

compassion^{-ate} allowance for the infatuation of the prisoner, the false and criminal discretion of one officer, and the madness of another. I would leave the ignorant soldiers entirely out of the question. They are certainly the least guilty, though they are the only persons who have yet suffered, even in the appearance of punishment. The fact itself, however atrocious, is not the principal point to be considered. It might have happened under a more regular government, and with guards better disciplined than ours. The main question is, in what manner have the ministry acted on this extraordinary occasion. A general officer calls upon the king's own guard, then actually on duty, to rescue him from the laws of his country; yet at this moment he is in a situation no worse than if he had not committed an offence, equally enormous in a civil and military view.—A lieutenant upon duty designedly quits his guard, and suffers it to be drawn out by another officer, for a purpose which he well knew (as we may collect from an appearance of caution which only makes his behaviour the more criminal) to be in the highest degree illegal. Has this gentleman been called to a Court-Martial to answer for his conduct? No. Has it been censured? No. Has it been in any shape inquired into? No.—Another lieutenant, not upon duty, nor even in his regi-

regimentals, is daring enough to order out the king's guard, over which he had properly no command, and engages them in a violation of the laws of his country, perhaps the most singular and extravagant that ever was attempted.—What punishment has *he* suffered? Literally none. Supposing he should be prosecuted at common law for the rescue, will that circumstance, from which the ministry can derive no merit, excuse or justify their suffering so flagrant a breach of military discipline to pass by unpunished and unnoticed? Are they aware of the outrage offered to their sovereign, when his own proper guard is ordered out to stop, by main force, the execution of his laws? What are we to conclude from so scandalous a neglect of their duty, but that they have other views, which can only be answered by securing the attachment of the guards? The minister would hardly be so cautious of offending them, if he did not mean, in due time, to call for their assistance.

With respect to the parties themselves, let it be observed, that these gentlemen are neither young officers, nor very young men. Had they belonged to the unfledged race of ensigns, who infest our streets, and dishonour our public places, it might perhaps be sufficient to send them back to that discipline, from which their parents, judging lightly from the maturity of their vices, had removed them

them too soon. In this case, I am sorry to see, not so much the folly of youth, as the spirit of the corps, and the connivance of government. I do not question that there are many brave and worthy officers in the regiments of guards. But considering them as a corps, I fear it will be found that they are neither good soldiers nor good subjects. Far be it from me to insinuate the most distant reflection upon the army. On the contrary, I honour and esteem the profession; and if these gentlemen were better soldiers, I am sure they would be better subjects. It is not that there is any internal vice or defect in the profession itself; as regulated in this country, but that it is the spirit of this particular corps to despise their profession, and that, while they vainly assume the lead of the army, they make it matter of impertinent comparison and triumph over the bravest troops in the world (I mean our marching regiments) that *they* indeed stand upon higher ground, and are privileged to neglect the laborious forms of military discipline and duty. Without dwelling longer upon a most invidious subject, I shall leave it to military men, who have seen a service more active than the parade, to determine whether or no I speak truth.

How far this dangerous spirit has been encouraged by government, and to what pernicious purposes

poses it may be applied hereafter, well deserves our most serious consideration. I know, indeed, that when this affair happened, an affectation of alarm ran through the ministry. Something must be done to save appearances. The case was too flagrant to be passed by absolutely without notice. But how have they acted? Instead of ordering the officers concerned, and who, strictly speaking, are alone guilty, to be put under arrest and brought to a trial, they would have it understood that they did their duty completely, in confining a serjeant and four private soldiers, until they should be demanded by the civil power; so that while the officers, who ordered or permitted the thing to be done, escape without censure, the poor men, who obeyed those orders, who in a military view are no way responsible for what they did, and who for that reason have been discharged by the civil magistrates, are the only objects whom the ministry have thought proper to expose to punishment. They did not venture to bring even these men to a Court-Martial, because they knew their evidence would be fatal to some persons, whom they were determined to protect. Otherwise, I doubt not, the lives of these unhappy, friendless soldiers would long since have been sacrificed without scruple to the security of their guilty officers.

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I have been accused of endeavouring to enflame the passions of the people.—Let me now appeal to their understanding. If there be any tool of administration daring enough to deny these facts, or shameless enough to defend the conduct of the ministry, let him come forward. I care not under what title he appears. He shall find me ready to maintain the truth of my narrative, and the justice of my observations upon it, at the hazard of my utmost credit with the public.

Under the most arbitrary governments, the common administration of justice is suffered to take its course. The subject, though robbed of his share in the legislature, is still protected by the laws. The political freedom of the English constitution was once the pride and honour of an Englishman. The civil equality of the laws preserved the property, and defended the safety of the subject. Are these glorious privileges the birthright of the people, or are we only tenants at the will of the ministry?—But that I know there is a spirit of resistance in the hearts of my countrymen, that they value life, not by its conveniences, but by the independence and dignity of their condition, I should, at this moment, appeal only to their discretion. I should persuade them to banish from their minds all memory of what we were; I should tell them this is not a time to remember that we

were

were Englishmen; and give it as my last advice, to make some early agreement with the minister, that since it has pleased him to rob us of those political rights, which once distinguished the inhabitants of a country, where honour was happiness, he would leave us at least the humble, obedient security of citizens, and graciously condescend to protect us in our submission.

J U N I U S.

L E T T E R XXVII.

S I R,

October 20, 1769.

I Very sincerely applaud the spirit with which a lady has paid the debt of gratitude to her benefactor. Though I think she has mistaken the point, she shews a virtue, which makes her respectable. The question turned upon the personal generosity or avarice of a man, whose private fortune is immense.

The proofs of his munificence must be drawn from the uses to which he has applied that fortune. I was not speaking of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but of a rich English Duke, whose wealth gave him the means of doing as much good in this country, as he derived from his power in another. I am far from wishing to lessen the merit of this single benevolent action;—perhaps it

is the more conspicuous from standing alone. All I mean to say is, that it proves nothing in the present argument.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

SIR,

Nov. 15, 1769.

I Admit the claim of a gentleman, who publishes in the Gazetteer under the name of *Modestus*. He has some right to expect an answer from me; though, I think, not so much from the merit or importance of his objections, as from my own voluntary engagement. I had a reason for not taking notice of him sooner, which, as he is a candid person, I believe he will think sufficient. In my first letter, I took for granted, from the time which had elapsed, that there was no intention to censure, nor even to try the persons concerned in the rescue of General Gansel; but *Modestus* having since either affirmed, or strongly insinuated, that the offenders might still be brought to a legal trial, any attempt to prejudice the cause, or to prejudice the minds of a jury or a Court Martial, would be highly improper.

A man, more hostile to the Ministry than I am, would not so often remind them of their duty. If the Duke of Grafton will not perform the duty of his

his station, why is he minister?—I will not descend to a scurrilous altercation with any man; but this is a subject too important to be passed over with a silent indifference. If the gentlemen, whose conduct is in question, are not brought to a trial, the Duke of Grafton shall hear from me again.

The motives, on which I am supposed to have taken up this cause, are of little importance, compared with the facts themselves, and the observations I have made upon them. Without a vain profession of integrity, which, in these times, might justly be suspected, I shall shew myself in effect a friend to the interests of my countrymen, and leave it to them to determine, whether I am moved by a personal malevolence to three private gentlemen, or merely by a hope of perplexing the ministry, or whether I am animated by a just and honourable purpose of obtaining a satisfaction to the laws of this country, equal, if possible, to the violation they have suffered.

JUNIUS,

LET.

L E T T E R XXIX.

To his Grace the DUKE of GRAFTON.

My LORD,

Nov. 29, 1769.

THOUGH my opinion of your Grace's integrity was but little affected by the coyness with which you received Mr. Vaughan's proposals, I confess I gave you some credit for your discretion. You had a fair opportunity of displaying a certain delicacy, of which you had not been suspected; and you were in the right to make use of it. By laying in a moderate stock of reputation, you undoubtedly meant to provide for the future necessities of your character, that, with an honourable resistance upon record, you might safely indulge your genius, and yield to a favourite inclination with security. But you have discovered your purposes too soon, and, instead of the modest reserve of virtue, have shewn us the termagant chastity of a prude, who gratifies her passions with distinction, and prosecutes one lover for a rape, while she solicits the lewd embraces of another.

Your cheek turns pale: for a guilty conscience tells you, you are undone—Come forward, thou virtuous minister, and tell the world by what interest Mr. Hine has been recommended to so extraordinary

dinary a mark of his Majesty's favour; what was the price of the patent he has bought, and to what honourable purpose the purchase money has been applied. Nothing less than many thousands could pay Colonel Burgoyne's expences at Preston. Do you dare to prosecute such a creature as Vaughan, while you are basely setting up the royal patronage to auction? Do you dare to complain of an attack upon your own honour, while you are selling the favours of the crown, to raise a fund for corrupting the morals of the people? And, do you think it possible such enormities should escape without impeachment? It is indeed highly your interest to maintain the present House of Commons. Having sold the nation to you in gross, they will undoubtedly protect you in the detail; for while they patronize your crimes, they feel for their own.

JUNIUS.

LET.

L E T T E R XXX.

To his Grace the DUKE of GRAFTON.

My LORD,

Dec. 13, 1769.

I Find, with some surprise, that you are not supported as you deserve. Your most determined advocates have scruples about them, which you are unacquainted with; and, though there be nothing too hazardous for your Grace to engage in, there are somethings too infamous for the vilest prostitute of a news-paper to defend. In what other manner shall we account for the profound, submissive silence, which you and your friends have observed upon a charge which called immediately for the clearest refutation, and would have justified the severest measures of resentment? I did not attempt to blast your character by an indirect, ambiguous insinuation, but candidly stated to you a plain fact, which struck directly at the integrity of a privy counsellor, of a first commissioner of the treasury, and of a leading minister, who is supposed to enjoy the first share in his Majesty's confidence. In every one of these capacities I employed the most moderate terms to charge you with treachery to your Sovereign, and breach of trust in your office

fice. I accused you of having sold, or permitted to be sold, a patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter to one Mr. Hine, who, unable or unwilling to deposite the whole purchase-money himself, raised part of it by contribution, and has now a certain Doctor Brooke quartered upon the salary for one hundred pounds a year.—No sale by the candle was ever conducted with greater formality.—I affirm that the price, at which the place was knocked down (and which, I have good reason to think, was not less than three thousand five hundred pounds) was, with your connivance and consent, paid to Colonel Burgoyne, to reward him; I presume, for the decency of his deportment at Preston; or to reimburse him, perhaps, for the fine of one thousand pounds, which, for that very deportment the Court of King's Bench thought proper to set upon him.—It is not often that the chief justice and the prime minister are so strangely at variance in their opinions of men and things.

I thank God there is not in human nature a degree of impudence daring enough to deny the charge I have fixed upon you. Your courteous secretary, your confidential architect, are silent as the grave. Even Mr. Rigby's countenance fails him. He violates his second nature, and blushes whenever he speaks of you.—Perhaps the noble Colonel himself will relieve you. No man is more tender of his reputation,

putation. He is not only nice, but perfectly sore in every thing that touches his honour. If any man, for example, were to accuse him of taking his stand at a gaming table, and watching, with the soberest attention, for a fair opportunity of engaging a drunken young nobleman at piquet, he would undoubtedly consider it as an infamous aspersion upon his character, and resent it like a man of honour.—Acquitting him therefore of drawing a regular and splendid subsistence from any unworthy practices, either in his own house or elsewhere, let me ask your Grace, for what military merits you have been pleased to reward him with a military government? He had a regiment of dragoons, which, one would imagine, was at least an equivalent for any services he ever performed. Besides, he is but a young officer considering his preferment, and, excepting his activity at Preston, not very conspicuous in his profession. But it seems, the sale of a civil employment was not sufficient, and military governments, which were intended for the support of worn out veterans, must be thrown into the scale, to defray the extensive bribery of a contested election. Are these the steps you take to secure to your sovereign the attachment of his army? With what countenance dare you appear in the royal presence, branded as you are with the infamy of a notorious breach of trust? With what countenance

countenance can you take your seat at the treasury board or in council, when you feel that every circulating whisper is at your expence alone, and stabs you to the heart? Have you a single friend in parliament so shameless, so thoroughly abandoned, as to undertake your defence? You know, my Lord, that there is not a man in either house, whose character, however flagitious, would not be ruined by mixing his reputation with yours; and does not your heart inform you, that you are degraded below the condition of a man, when you are obliged to hear these insults with submission, and even to thank me for my moderation?

We are told, by the highest judicial authority, that Mr. Vauhan's offer to purchase the reversion of a patent in Jamaica (which he was otherwise sufficiently entitled to) amounted to a high misdemeanour. Be it so: and if he deserves it, let him be punished. But the learned judge might have had a fairer opportunity of displaying the powers of his eloquence. Having delivered himself with so much energy upon the criminal nature, and dangerous consequences of any attempt to corrupt a man in your Grace's station, what would he have said to the minister himself, to that very privy counsellor, to that first commissioner of the treasury, who does not wait for, but impatiently solicits the touch of corruption; who employs the meanest

of his creatures in these honourable services, and, forgetting the genius and fidelity of his secretary, descends to apply to his house-builder for assistance.

This affair, my lord, will do infinite credit to government, if, to clear your character, you should think proper to bring it into the house of Lords, or into the court of King's Bench.—But, my Lord, you dare not do either.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XXXI.

December 19, 1769.

When the complaints of a brave and powerful people are observed to encrease in proportion to the wrongs they have suffered; when, instead of sinking into submission, they are roused to resistance, the time will soon arrive at which every inferior consideration must yield to the security of the sovereign, and to the general safety of the state. There is a moment of difficulty and danger, at which flattery and falsehood can no longer deceive, and simplicity itself can no longer be misled. Let us suppose it arrived. Let us suppose a gracious, well intentioned prince, made sensible at last of the great duty he owes to his people, and of his own disgraceful situation, that

that he looks round him for assistance, and asks for no advice but how to gratify the wishes, and secure the happiness of his subjects. In these circumstances it may be matter of curious SPECULATION to consider, if an honest man were permitted to approach a king, in what terms he would address himself to his Sovereign. Let it be imagined, no matter how improbable, that the first prejudice against his character is removed, that the ceremonious difficulties of an audience are surmounted, that he feels himself animated by the purest and most honourable affections to his king and country, and that the great person, whom he addresses, has spirit enough to bid him speak freely, and understanding enough to listen to him with attention. Unacquainted with the vain impertinence of forms, he would deliver his sentiments with dignity and firmness, but not without respect.

S I R,

IT is the misfortune of your life, and originally the cause of every reproach and distress, which has attended your government, that you should never have been acquainted with the language of truth, until you heard it in the complaints of your people. It is not however, too late to correct the error of your education. We are still inclined to
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make an indulgent allowance for the pernicious lessons you received in your youth, and to form the most sanguine hopes from the natural benevolence of your disposition. We are far from thinking you capable of a direct, deliberate purpose to invade those original rights of your subjects, on which all their civil and political liberties depend. Had it been possible for us to entertain a suspicion so dishonourable to your character, we should long since have adopted a stile of remonstrance very distant from the humility of complaint. The doctrine inculcated by our laws, *That the King can do no Wrong*, is admitted without reluctance. We separate the amiable good-natured prince from the folly and treachery of his servants, and the private virtues of the man from the vices of his government. Were it not for this just distinction, I know not whether your Majesty's condition, or that of the English nation, would deserve most to be lamented. I would prepare your mind for a favourable reception of truth, by removing every painful, offensive idea of personal reproach. Your subjects, Sir, wish for nothing but that, as *they* are reasonable and affectionate enough to separate your person from your government, so *you*, in your turn, should distinguish between the conduct, which becomes the permanent dignity of a king, and that which

which serves only to promote the temporary interest and miserable ambition of a minister.

You ascended the throne with a declared, and, I doubt not, a sincere resolution of giving universal satisfaction to your subjects. You found them pleased with the novelty of a young prince, whose countenance promised even more than his words, and loyal to you not only from principle, but passion. It was not a cold profession of allegiance to the first magistrate, but a partial, animated attachment to a favourite prince, the native of their country. They did not wait to examine your conduct, nor to be determined by experience, but gave you a generous credit for the future blessings of your reign, and paid you in advance the dearest tribute of their affections. Such, Sir, was once the disposition of a people, who now surround your throne with reproaches and complaints. Do justice to yourself. Banish from your mind those unworthy opinions with which some interested persons have laboured to possess you. Distrust the men, who tell you that the English are naturally light and inconstant;—that they complain without a cause. Withdraw your confidence equally from all parties; from ministers, favourites, and relations; and let there be one moment in your life in which you have consulted your own understanding.

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When you affectedly renounced the name of Englishman, believe me, Sir, you were persuaded to pay a very ill-judged compliment to one part of your subjects, at the expence of another. While the natives of Scotland are not in actual rebellion; they are undoubtedly entitled to protection; nor do I mean to condemn the policy of giving some encouragement to the novelty of their affections for the house of Hanover. I am ready to hope for every thing from their new-born zeal, and from the future steadiness of their allegiance. But hitherto they have no claim to your favour. To honour them with a determined predilection and confidence, in exclusion of your English subjects, who placed your family, and, in spite of treachery and rebellion, have supported it upon the throne, is a mistake too gross, even for the unsuspecting generosity of youth. In this error we see a capital violation of the most obvious rules of policy and prudence. We trace it, however, to an original bias in your education, and are ready to allow for your inexperience.

To the same early influence we attribute it, that you have descended to take a share not only in the narrow views and interests of particular persons, but in the fatal malignity of their passions. At your accession to the throne, the whole system of government

government was altered, not from wisdom or deliberation, but because it had been adopted by your predecessor. A little, personal motive of pique and resentment was sufficient to remove the ablest servants of the crown; but it is not in this country, Sir, that such men can be dishonoured by the frowns of a king. They were dismissed, but could not be disgraced. Without entering into a minuter discussion of the merits of the peace, we may observe, in the imprudent hurry with which the first overtures from France were accepted, in the conduct of the negotiation, and terms of the treaty, the strongest marks of that precipitate spirit of concession, with which a certain part of your subjects have been at all times ready to purchase a peace with the natural enemies of this country. On *your* part we are satisfied that every thing was honourable and sincere, and if England was sold to France, we doubt not that your Majesty was equally betrayed. The conditions of the peace were matter of grief and surprise to your subjects, but not the immediate cause of their present discontent.

Hitherto, Sir, you had been sacrificed to the prejudices and passions of others. With what firmness will you bear the mention of your own?

A man, not very honourably distinguished in the world, commences a formal attack upon your

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favourite,

favourite, considering nothing, but how he might best expose his person and principles to detestation, and the national character of his countrymen to contempt. The natives of that country, Sir, are as much distinguished by a peculiar character as by your Majesty's favour. Like another chosen people, they have been conducted into the Land of Plenty, where they find themselves effectually marked, and divided from mankind. There is hardly a period, at which the most irregular character may not be redeemed. The mistakes of one sex find a retreat in patriotism; those of the other in devotion. Mr. Wilkes brought with him into politics the same liberal sentiments by which his private conduct had been directed, and seemed to think, that, as there are few excesses, in which an English gentleman may not be permitted to indulge, the same latitude was allowed him in the choice of his political principles, and in the spirit of maintaining them.—I mean to state, not entirely to defend his conduct. In the earnestness of his zeal, he suffered some unwarrantable insinuations to escape him. He said more than moderate men would justify; but not enough to entitle him to the honour of your Majesty's personal resentment. The rays of royal indignation, collected upon him, served only to illuminate, and could not consume. Animated by the favour of the people on one side;

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and heated by persecution on the other, his views and sentiments changed with his situation. Hardly serious at first, he is now an enthusiast. The coldest bodies warm with opposition, the hardest sparkle in collision. There is a holy mistaken zeal in politics as well as religion. By persuading others, we convince ourselves. The passions are engaged, and create a maternal affection in the mind, which forces us to love the cause for which we suffer.—Is this a contention worthy of a King? Are you not sensible how much the meanness of the cause gives an air of ridicule to the serious difficulties into which you have been betrayed? The destruction of one man has been now, for many years, the sole object of your government, and if there can be any thing still more disgraceful, we have seen, for such an object, the utmost influence of the executive power, and every ministerial artifice exerted without success. Nor can you ever succeed, unless *he* should be imprudent enough to forfeit the protection of those laws, to which you owe your crown, or unless your ministers should persuade you to make it a question of force alone, and try the whole strength of government in opposition to the people. The lessons *he* has received from experience will probably guard him from such excess of folly; and in your Majesty's virtues

we find an unquestionable assurance that no illegal violence will be attempted.

Far from suspecting you of so horrible a design, we would attribute the continued violation of the laws, and even this last enormous attack upon the vital principles of the constitution, to an ill-advised, unworthy, personal resentment. From one false step you have been betrayed into another, and as the cause was unworthy of you, your ministers were determined that the prudence of the execution should correspond with the wisdom and dignity of the design. They have reduced you to the necessity of choosing out of a variety of difficulties;—to a situation so unhappy, that you can neither do wrong without ruin, nor right without affliction. These worthy servants have undoubtedly given you many singular proofs of their abilities. Not contented with making Mr. Wilkes a man of importance, they have judiciously transferred the question from the rights and interests of one man to the most important rights and interests of the people; and forced your subjects from wishing well to the cause of an individual, to unite with him in their own. Let them proceed as they have begun, and your Majesty need not doubt that the catastrophe will do no dishonour to the conduct of the piece.

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The circumstances to which you are reduced will not admit of a compromise with the English nation. Undecisive, qualifying measures will disgrace your government still more than open violence, and, without satisfying the people, will excite their contempt. They have too much understanding and spirit to accept of an indirect satisfaction for a direct injury. Nothing less than a repeal, as formal as the resolution itself can heal the wound, which has been given to the constitution, nor will any thing less be accepted. I can readily believe that there is an influence sufficient to recal that pernicious vote. The house of commons undoubtedly consider their duty to the crown as paramount to all other obligations. To *us* they are only indebted for an accidental existence, and have justly transferred their gratitude from their parents to their benefactors ;—from those, who gave them birth, to the minister, from whose benevolence they derive the comforts and pleasures of their political life ;—who has taken the tenderest care of their infancy, relieves their necessities without offending their delicacy, and has given them, what they value most, a virtuous education. But, if it were possible for their integrity to be degraded to a condition so vile and abject, that, compared with it, the present estimation they stand in is a state of honour and respect, consider, Sir, in what manner

manner you will afterwards proceed. Can you conceive that the people of this country will long submit to be governed by so flexible a house of Commons! It is not in the nature of human society, that any form of government, in such circumstances, can long be preserved. In ours the general contempt of the people is as fatal as their detestation. Such, I am persuaded, would be the necessary effect of any base concession made by the present house of Commons, and, as a qualifying measure would not be accepted, it remains for you to decide whether you will, at any hazard, support a set of men, who have reduced you to this unhappy dilemma, or whether you will gratify the united wishes of the whole people of England by dissolving the parliament.

Taking it for granted, as I do very sincerely, that you have personally no design against the constitution, nor any views inconsistent with the good of your subjects, I think you cannot hesitate long upon the choice, which it equally concerns your interest, and your honour to adopt. On one side, you hazard the affections of all your English subjects; you relinquish every hope of repose to yourself, and you endanger the establishment of your family for ever. All this you venture for no object whatsoever, or for such an object, as it would be an affront to you to name. Men of
sense

sense will examine your conduct with suspicion ; while those who are incapable of comprehending to what degree they are injured, afflict you with clamours equally insolent and unmeaning. Supposing it possible that no fatal struggle should ensue, you determine at once to be unhappy, without the hope of a compensation either from interest or ambition. If an English king be hated or despised, he *must* be unhappy ; and this perhaps is the only political truth, which he ought to be convinced of without experiment. But if the English people should no longer confine their resentment to a submissive representation of their wrongs ; if, following the glorious example of their ancestors, they should no longer appeal to the creature of the constitution, but to that high Being, who gave them the rights of humanity, whose gifts it were sacrilege to surrender, let me ask you, Sir, upon what part of your subjects would you rely for assistance ?

The people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed. In return, they give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. They despise the miserable governor you have sent them, because he is the creature of lord Bute ; nor is it from any natural confusion in their ideas, that they are so ready to confound the original of a king with the disgraceful representation of him.

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The distance of the Colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government as they once pretended to be to your person. They were ready enough to distinguish between *you* and your ministers. They complained of an act of the legislature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the servants of the crown : They pleased themselves with the hope that their Sovereign, if not favourable to their cause, at least was impartial. The decisive, personal part you took against them, has effectually banished that first distinction from their minds. They consider you as united with your servants against America, and know how to distinguish the Sovereign and a venal parliament on one side, from the real sentiments of the English people on the other. Looking forward to independence, they might possibly receive you for their king ; but, if ever you retire to America, be assured they will give you such a covenant to digest, as the presbytery of Scotland would have been ashamed to offer to Charles the Second. They left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert. Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree ; they equally detest the pageantry of a king, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop.

It is not then from the alienated affections of Ireland or America, that you can reasonably look for assistance; still less from the people of England, who are actually contending for their rights, and in this great question, are parties against you. You are not, however, destitute of every appearance of support: You have all the Jacobites, Nonjurors, Roman Catholics, and Tories of this country, and all Scotland without exception. Considering from what family you are descended, the choice of your friends has been singularly directed; and truly, Sir, if you had not lost the whig interest of England, I should admire your dexterity in turning the hearts of your enemies. Is it possible for you to place any confidence in men, who, before they are faithful to you, must renounce every opinion, and betray every principle, both in church and state, which they inherit from their ancestors, and are confirmed in by their education? whose numbers are so inconsiderable, that they have long since been obliged to give up the principles and language which distinguished them as a party, and to fight under the banners of their enemies? Their zeal begins with hypocrisy, and must conclude in treachery. At first they deceive, at last they betray.

As to the Scotch, I must suppose your heart and understanding so biassed, from your earliest infancy

infancy, in their favour, that nothing less than *your own* misfortunes can undeceive you. You will not accept of the uniform experience of your ancestors ; and when once a man is determined to believe, the very absurdity of the doctrine confirms him in his faith. A bigotted understanding can draw a proof of attachment to the house of Hanover from a notorious zeal for the house of Stuart, and find an earnest of future loyalty in former rebellions. Appearances are however in their favour ; so strongly indeed, that one would think they had forgotten that you are their lawful king, and had mistaken you for a pretender to the crown. Let it be admitted then that the Scotch are as sincere in their present professions, as if you were in reality not an Englishman, but a Briton of the North, you would not be the first prince of their native country against whom they have rebelled, nor the first whom they have basely betrayed. Have you forgotten, Sir, or has your favourite concealed from you that part of our history, when the unhappy Charles (and he too had private virtues) fled from the open avowed indignation of his English subjects, and surrendered himself at discretion to the good faith of his own countrymen. Without looking for support in their affections as subjects, he applied only to their honour as gentlemen,

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men, for protection. They received him as they would your Majesty, with bows, and smiles, and falsehood, and kept him until they had settled their bargain with the English parliament; then basely sold their native King to the vengeance of his enemies. This, Sir, was not the act of a few traitors, but the deliberate treachery of a Scotch parliament representing the nation. A wise prince might draw from it two lessons of equal utility to himself. On one side he might learn to dread the undisguised resentment of a generous people, who dare openly assert their rights, and who, in a just cause, are ready to meet their Sovereign in the field. On the other side, he would be taught to apprehend something far more formidable;——a fawning treachery, against which no prudence can guard, no courage can defend. The insidious smiles upon the cheek would warn him of the canker in the heart.

From the uses, to which one part of the army has been too frequently applied, you have some reason to expect, that there are no services they would refuse. Here too we trace the partiality of your understanding. You take the sense of the army from the conduct of the guards, with the same justice with which you collect the sense of the people from the representations of the ministry.

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Your marching regiments, Sir, will not make the guards their example either as soldiers or subjects. They feel and resent, as they ought to do, that invariable, undistinguishing favour with which the ^uguards are treated; while those gallant troops, by whom every hazardous, every laborious service is performed, are left to perish in garrisons abroad, or pine in quarters at home, neglected and forgotten. If they had no sense of the great original duty they owe their country, their resentment would operate like patriotism, and leave your cause to be defended by those to whom you have lavished the rewards and honours of their profession. The prætorian bands, enervated and debauched as they were, had still strength enough to awe the Roman populace: but when the distant legions took the alarm, they marched to Rome, and gave away the empire.

On this side then, which ever way you turn your eyes, you see nothing but perplexity and distress. You may determine to support the very ministry who have reduced your affairs to this deplorable situation: you may shelter yourself under the forms of a parliament, and set your people at defiance. But be assured, Sir, that such a resolution would be as imprudent as it would be odious. If it did not immediately shake your establishment, it would rob you of your peace of mind for ever.

On the other, how different is the prospect! How easy, how safe and honourable is the path before you! The English nation declare they are grossly injured by their representatives, and solicit your Majesty to exert your lawful prerogative, and give them an opportunity of recalling a trust, which, they find, has been so scandalously abused. You are not to be told that the power of the house of Commons is not original, but delegated to them for the welfare of the people, from whom they received it. A question of right arises between the constituent and the representative body. By what authority shall it be decided? Will your Majesty interfere in a question in which you have properly no immediate concern? It would be a step equally odious and unnecessary. Shall the lords be called upon to determine the rights and privileges of the Commons? They cannot do it without a flagrant breach of the constitution. Or will you refer it to the judges? They have often told your ancestors, that the law of parliament is above them. What party then remains but to leave it to the people to determine for themselves? They alone are injured; and since there is no superior power to which the cause can be referred, they alone ought to determine.

I do not mean to perplex you with a tedious argument upon a subject already so discussed, that
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inspiration could hardly throw a new light upon it. There are, however, two points of view, in which it particularly imports your Majesty to consider the late proceedings of the house of Commons. By depriving a subject of his birthright, they have attributed to their own vote an authority equal to an act of the whole legislature; and, tho' perhaps not with the same motives, have strictly followed the example of the long parliament, which first declared the regal office useless, and soon after, with as little ceremony, dissolved the house of lords. The same pretended power, which robs an English subject of his birthright, may rob an English king of his crown. In another view, the resolution of the house of Commons, apparently not so dangerous to your Majesty, is still more alarming to your people. Not contented with divesting one man of his right, they have arbitrarily conveyed that right to another. They have set aside a return as illegal, without daring to censure those officers who were particularly apprized of Mr. Wilkes's incapacity, not only by the declaration of the house, but expressly by the writ directed to them, and who nevertheless returned him as duly elected. They have rejected the majority of votes, the only criterion by which our laws judge of the sense of the people; they have transferred the right

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of election from the collective to the representative body ; and by these acts, taken separately or together, they have essentially altered the original constitution of the house of Commons. Versed, as your Majesty undoubtedly is, in the English history, it cannot easily escape you, how much it is to your interest, as well as your duty to prevent one of the three estates from encroaching upon the province of the other two, or assuming the authority of them all. When once they have departed from the great constitutional line, by which all their proceedings should be directed, who will answer for their future moderation ? Or what assurance will they give you, that, when they have trampled upon their equals, they will submit to a superior ? Your Majesty may learn hereafter, how nearly the slave and tyrant are allied.

Some of your council, more candid than the rest, admit the abandoned profligacy of the present house of Commons, but oppose their dissolution upon an opinion, I confess not very unwarrantable, that their successors would be equally at the disposal of the treasury. I cannot persuade myself that the nation will have profited so little by experience. But if that opinion were well founded, you might then gratify our wishes at an easy rate, and appease the present clamour against your government with-

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out offering any material injury to the favourite cause of corruption.

You have still an honourable part to act. The affections of your subjects may still be recovered. But before you subdue *their* hearts, you must gain a noble victory over your own. Discard those little personal resentments which have too long directed your public conduct. Pardon this man the remainder of his punishment, and if resentment still prevails, make it, what it should have been long since, an act, not of mercy, but contempt. He will soon fall back into his natural station,—a silent senator, and hardly supporting the weekly eloquence of a news paper. The gentle breath of peace would leave him on the surface, neglected and unremoved. It is only the tempest that lifts him from his place.

Without consulting your minister, call together your whole council. Let it appear to the public that you can determine and act for yourself. Come forward to your people. Lay aside the wretched formalities of a King, and speak to your subjects with the spirit of a man, and in the language of a gentleman. Tell them you have been fatally deceived. The acknowledgment will be no disgrace, but rather an honour to your understanding. Tell them you are determined to remove every cause
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of complaint against your government ; that you will give your confidence to no man who does not possess the confidence of your subjects ; and you will leave it to themselves to determine, by their conduct at a future election, whether or no it be in reality the general sense of the nation, that their rights have been arbitrarily invaded by the present house of Commons, and the constitution betrayed. They will then do justice to their representatives and to themselves.

These sentiments, Sir, and the stile they are conveyed in, may be offensive, perhaps, because they are new to you. Accustomed to the language of courtiers, you measure their affections by the vehemence of their expressions ; and when they only praise you indirectly, you admire their sincerity. But this is not a time to trifle with your fortune. They deceive you, Sir, who tell you that you have many friends, whose affections are founded upon a principle of personal attachments. The first foundation of friendship is not the power of conferring benefits, but the equality with which they are received, and *may* be returned. The fortune which made you a King forbade you to have a friend. It is a law of nature which cannot be violated with impunity. The mistaken prince, who looks for friendship, will find a favourite, and in that favourite the ruin of his affairs.

The people of England are loyal to the House of Hanover, not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties. This, Sir, is a principle of allegiance equally solid and rational, fit for Englishmen to adopt, and well worthy of your Majesty's encouragement. We cannot long be deluded by nominal distinctions. The name of Stuart, of itself, is only contemptible;—armed with the sovereign authority, their principles were formidable. The Prince, who imitates their conduct, should be warned by their example; and while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember, that as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another.

JUNIUS.

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L E T T E R XXXII.

December 25, 1769.

Faction may be resembled to bodies in their descent, their motion is encreased in proportion to the space they fall through. No great degree of sagacity was requisite to foretel, that a writer who had malevolently attacked the greatest officers of the state, would at last lay his hand upon the throne, and shake even the monarch, who wished he would not forfeit every title to clemency. An animated stile is far from investing a subject with a right to raise himself upon a level with his sovereign, and to arraign his conduct in terms that show a total disregard both to decency and to allegiance. But supposing such an outrage could at any time exist, supposing the sovereign should lay aside the sceptre, and descend to the character of a fellow-subject, he might express himself in terms of this kind, which though abstracted from the forms of royalty, might still convey his ideas in expressions drawn from his real character, and breathe all the benevolence of one who is paternally affected for the welfare of his subjects.

I AM not surprized at the attack lately received from the pen of *Junius*. His pen spares no characters. Impunity, instead of furnishing him with suspicion, has hardened him in effrontery. But calumny and sedition is the characteristic of the age; he may have been willingly carried down the stream, because it will land on the shore of popularity. To abuse extraordinary talents is the highest ingratitude that can be committed against their donor. It favours much of the conduct of the first rebel in the creation, who was both a being of the highest order of intelligent creatures, and was likewise a devil.

Had *Junius* urged any thing worthy of notice, unless it be for its malignity, he would have been indulged all the freedom of a patriot, and I would have laid aside the king to become a disciple. A long letter, which has a tendency to disturb the tranquillity of my reign, is stretched out to its enormous length by trite maxims; and every artifice is employed to alienate the affections of my subjects. The charms of novelty are neglected to introduce the poison of malignity, and I am to be exposed to my people, for being in the same circumstances as other kings have been in before me.

It has been frequently observed by the votaries of the people, that the voice of truth seldom reaches the ears of a king. This may too often be the case with weak and arbitrary princes; but will my greatest enemy, will even *Junius* dare to stigmatise me with being arbitrary or despotic? Has there never been a popular minister in this kingdom? What is the general character of Burleigh and Walsingham? They certainly conveyed the dictates of truth to the ears of royalty, and are sufficient to explode the maxim of the people.—A patriotic prince may find it as difficult to be addressed with the falshood of adulation, as a despotic one with the oracles of truth.

The language of complaint is not always the language of truth. Grievances may not be real. Faction will create causes for complaint, if she cannot find them already existing, and popular discontents, when traced to their source, may rather be the murmurs of a few disaffected, than the real sighs of an injured nation. The histories of all nations abound with instances in proof of this assertion: pity it is that that will not prevent future ages from committing similar mistakes.

The people are too soon seduced to join in the cry against their superiors, and their passions are too often captivated by those who are unable to convince their understanding.

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But I am to be precluded every topic which I could urge in my defence : my conduct is asserted to be wrong from principle, and the *lessons I have learned* from my youth, are stigmatized as pernicious. Yet still I am said to be *naturally benevolent* ; but how that could be after my habits were become pernicious by education, is a problem of which few will undertake the solution.

It is much in my favour that my nature was originally good, as it has rescued me from an inconvenience that is a species of treason ; for unless it had been so, I am told by one of my subjects, that *they would long since have adopted a stile of remonstrance very distant from the humility of complaint*. What this stile is, let the nation judge——nay, let *Junius* explain.——The menace is little better than the menace of sedition.——If we should trace the thunderbolt to the hand from whence it was cast, it will be found to have proceeded from the hand of Briareus, who was engaged in an attack to dethrone Jupiter.

The general maxim that *the King can do no wrong*, which was intended to secure majesty against the poisoned shafts of malecontents, is wrested to inflict wounds in my government ; and too often in the natural world, those gifts which were designed by nature to support life, are converted into means of destroying it. The latter may be ascribed

ascribed to perversity of judgment, the former to perversity of will.

I ascended the throne with a sincere and determined resolution to give universal satisfaction to my subjects ; I looked on myself as accountable to the King of kings, in the discharge of my duty ; and when I considered that my will, and pleasure, and happiness, depended on following the dictates of my conscience, I thought myself well secured from doing amiss. The general acclamation and joy of the nation on my accession, made me promise myself that my throne would be placed in the hearts of my subjects ; and when I considered the thorns which twine themselves round the diadem, I imagined the people would be more ready to invite me to assume the sceptre, than I really was to accept it.

The brightest sunshine is too often intercepted by a cloud. I find, too soon, that earthly glory like light in its progress, is liable to fits and intermissions. The very means I took to secure general affection, were urged against me, to deprive me of so inestimable an acquisition. Declared the King of several nations, I looked upon the natives of each kingdom as my subjects. I thought they ought equally to participate of my affections. Impartiality demanded this ; and I know that partiality is in a monarch a species of injustice. The
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comprehensive term of being King of Great Britain, whispered to me that all the subjects in Great Britain were equally allied to me as their sovereign. The Tweed did not bound my dominions; those that were born north of that river, were as much my subjects as those that were born nearer the place of my residence. My affection spread itself like the light of the sun, into every corner of my dominions; and I knew of no other restraint, no other attraction to my favours but desert. The North as well as the South Briton partook equally of the warmth of my bounty. I was King of both, and was bound to treat them both as my subjects. None but a person of a narrow mind could blame me for making my benevolence general. He that would blame me for this, must blame the sun for shining upon other nations as well as his own. I know indeed, that some malecontents thought me partial, because all my favours were not confined to those that were born on the South of the Tweed; and they stigmatized my generosity with the invidious term of predilection. I looked upon myself as a common Father to all my subjects, wherever diffeminated. — Surely it is not a crime in a father to let all his children have a part in his heart? So far was I from being biassed by any error imbibed in my education, that I divested myself of the natural predilection,

lection, which every one has to the peculiar spot in which he was born, and I looked upon myself in the same light as the ancient sage ; I looked upon myself not as a citizen of the world, but as if born in every district of my dominion, and bound to caress them all with equal portions of affection.

The alteration made in the system of government, was the effect of deliberation ; it does not become me to add, of wisdom likewise. I do not think myself obliged to reveal the secrets of government to vindicate myself from the aspersions of every one who blames my conduct. A condescension of this kind would unhinge every part of state machinery, extirpate the very idea of subordination, and erect anarchy upon the ruins of order and government. It was necessary to change what would not be controlled, and despotism in a minister was esteemed no less intolerable than in a prince. It can be no crime in a sovereign to rule ; it would be a weakness in him to suffer himself to be ruled by a servant.

I am blamed for discarding a minister, who was at that time very popular ; but sure, I cannot be blamed for that step now, for even the people have divested him of the feathers with which they had dressed him, and have, more than once, pronounced him unworthy of popularity.

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If my conduct may admit a vindication in these points, it is not less vindicable with respect to Mr. Wilkes, the *god of the people's idolatry*. The outrages he committed against my person, the aspersions which he cast upon my dearest relations, were long suffered with contempt, with impunity, if not with pity. As the highest stretch of law may become injustice, in the opinion of the Roman moralist, so when clemency is carried too far, it becomes criminal. I never thought, that when I put on my crown, I ceased to be a man; or that at the time when I accepted of the sceptre, I ceased to be a son. If filial duty reigned still in my heart, religion will pardon me the commission of that crime; if filial duty reigned still in my heart, let the son judge, for the son only can judge the agonies which I felt at the aspersions which were cast upon her, to whom I owe my birth. To defend her could be no crime; to punish her calumniator, was to obey the call of justice. But even in this point, I suffered royalty to stifle the agonies of the man, and bearing a public character, I would not suffer myself to be roused, by less than a public injury.

The laws showed resentment to be founded upon justice: the delinquent is now suffering no punishment from personal pique, but the punishment which he has called down upon his own head,

head, by infringing those sanctions which are the bulwarks of civil life, and the only props of government. Even in the midst of punishment, I listened to the voice of mercy, and the lenity of my government shone forth, even in the pains which were inflicted upon the delinquent. In this case, the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights were adhered to, with unexampled scrupulosity. The satisfaction awarded was rather the satisfaction of a private person, than that of a monarch : It satisfied me ; for, *homo sum, &c.* is as much my favourite maxim, as that of the most compassionate individual. The *rays of royal clemency were collected upon Wilkes*, in greater quantities than those of indignation ; and it was my intention to illuminate and instruct, not to consume.

It is no surprising thing, that he should be aggrandized by his punishments. The lower order of mankind fix their attention more upon the sufferings than the crime ; and when their hearts are melted into compassion, they in a manner forget that the sufferer is a criminal. It is not my intention to destroy, but to save. When the delinquent is worthy of favour, my arms are open to receive him : and, if I understand the workings of my own heart, I would rather die to save the meanest individual, than force an individual to die, to save me.

Faction

Faction will always sow her seeds in the best governments; why not in mine, as well as another's? It is her peculiar province to distort the truth which she cannot annihilate: and an erroneous sight is sometimes more pernicious than total blindness. Through her glass, the most minute object appears very considerable; why then should we wonder at the aggrandizement of Mr. Wilkes, when it is known he appears so, only through the microscope of faction?

The expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and the election of Col. Luttrell, afford a wide field for censure to expatiate in. Like other controverted points they may be agitated a long time, and may never be brought to a decision. The lawyers have argued the case *pro* and *con*; each side is sanguine; each thinks himself in the right. But how are we to know on which side the truth lies, when each opposite party avers that it lies on his? The only judge of these controversies, the house of Commons, have indeed decided the case. Shall I snatch the balance out of their hands? Shall I shew myself arbitrary because I am accused, falsely accused of being so? Shall I overturn the power of parliament, one of the pillars of the constitution? and take a step that would give despotism all the advantages it desires over freedom? No! I was raised to govern a free people. I would
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scorn to be king over a nation of slaves. The greatest glory of an earthly king is to resemble the King of kings; and his service is perfect freedom. It is a remarkable circumstance in my favour, that the same persons that censure my conduct fix the brand of calumny upon the great senate of the kingdom. In days of despotism the monarch and the parliament were always at variance; and it is an infallible symptom of civil liberty and constitutional rectitude, that all the three branches of the constitution should be unanimous. Shall I cut down the prop which supports my palace? The voice of faction may demand it; but the voice of freedom irresistibly forces me to leave the national council without control. It shall be free; I would sooner be enslaved myself, than promote the triumphs of slavery. The affections of my subjects cannot be purchased too dearly. I live only to promote their welfare. While I regulate my conduct upon the principles of reason, I am secure of the love of all the lovers of their country. My interest is inseparable from theirs, and while they have any regard for themselves they cannot but have as great a one for me. The calm, the dispassionate, the rational subject has already assured me of his loyalty; I can have no other enemy but the foe to his country, and the enemy of order. I can never
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be hated or despised while I pursue the paths of honour and justice. Nor shall my conduct be perverted by the clamours of malcontents.—*Non civium ardor prava jubentium*, is a maxim that describes and ennobles the duty of royalty. Inconsistency only can give birth to contempt. Malevolence is the only parent of hatred. As I shall avoid both the progenitors, I am under no apprehension from their offspring. Ask me not upon what part of my subjects I would rely upon for assistance? I claim the assistance of all. I claim it upon the natural right of a parent; and the son may as soon draw his sword upon his father, as any of my subjects may upon me.

Ireland knows I have merited her esteem; tho' the daughter, she is not less caressed than the mother. America may be considered in the same light. Neither of them would murmur from what they feel, but from what they have been taught. The complaints of either are not the complaints of distress, but the mere echoes of seditious demagogues. It is true they may make a noise; but the voice, if articulate, is not suggested by a heart, which hath felt a real pang. Not doubtful of finding many an unperverted subject in either of those regions, I am still less doubtful of my northern subjects. If royal favours can secure fidelity, I may assure myself of their's. When their conduct

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is altered from what it has been, they have a claim not only for forgiveness, but likewise for reward. And having already tasted the sweets of allegiance, they can have no cause for not being faithful.

The army is neither my last nor my best resource. The guards deserve my protection, and being nearest my person cannot but claim my attention. The other regiments may wish to be guards, and if the guards were to be substituted in their place, they would wish to be my guards again. This is an honour, which only one part of the military can enjoy, and to grieve or to grow sullen on that account, would be to realize the fable of the contest between the belly and its members. *The marching regiments have a strong sense of the great original duty they owe their country* ; I have no cause to doubt their fidelity. To doubt, would be to deserve— Every department of the army has had all the rewards they purchased by their merits. Their eminent services have raised them to eminent posts. Nor can there ever exist the same contest here as among the Romans ; the prætorian bands and the distant legions will never be at variance, and if they should be, it would not be in the power of the distant legions, nor even of the prætorian bands to give away the empire of Great Britain.

Which way soever I look, I see no cause for perplexity or distress. I have deserved the affections

ons of my subjects and will rely upon them. Our happiness is interwoven, is incorporated. God has joined them together—let no mortal therefore dare to put them asunder.—To exert prerogative to its full extent would be to procure a divorce. To exert it in a case, *in which I have no immediate concern*, would be to forfeit what I value more than life; it would be to forfeit the confidence of future parliaments, and even the confidence of all my subjects in general. It is both *my interest and my duty to prevent the three estates from encroaching upon the province of each other*. With what face can I then begin the encroachment, or depart from the constitutional line, which terminates the sphere of my prerogative?

The liberties taken with the present house of Commons deserve no countenance, as they have no foundation. General censure is no censure at all; it is a tribute which commonly attends desert and it is the indication of merit likewise. All parliaments have been blamed more or less, and till there be a possibility of meeting with one that shall please all parties, it would be in vain to struggle for it. The very impossibility is a strong proof of the flourishing state of freedom. Only in a state of slavery, all subjects are of one opinion.

I should be poor indeed, *if the fortune which made me a King forbid me to have a friend*. Every
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one of my subjects is my friend, and I am and will be his. *They who are convinced that the establishment of the family of Hanover was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties* were my friends,—and must still be so. I desire no other throne but the hearts of my people; and while I secure that, I shall fear no revolution, from a conviction that the same principles, which brought my ancestors to the Crown, will always be powerful enough to keep it in my family.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

To his Grace the DUKE of GRAFTON.

My LORD,

Feb. 14, 1770.

IF I were personally your enemy, I might pity and forgive you. You have every claim to compassion, that can arise from misery and distress. The condition you are reduced to would disarm a private enemy of his resentment, and leave no consolation to the most vindictive spirit, but that such an object, as you are, would disgrace the dignity of revenge. But in the relation you have borne to this country, you have no title to indulgence; and, if I had followed dictates of my own opinion, I never should have allowed you the respite of a moment. In your public character, you have injured every subject of the empire; and tho' an individual is not authorised to forgive the injuries

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done to society, he is called upon to assert his separate share in the public resentment. I submitted however to the judgment of men, more moderate, perhaps more candid than myself. For my own part, I do not pretend to understand those prudent forms of decorum, those gentle rules of discretion, which some men endeavour to unite with the conduct of the greatest and most hazardous affairs. Engaged in the defence of an honourable cause, I would take a decisive part.—I should scorn to provide for a future retreat, or to keep terms with a man, who preserves no measures with the public. Neither the abject submission of deserting his post in the hour of danger, nor even the sacred shield of cowardice should protect him. I would pursue him through life, and try the last exertion of my abilities to preserve the perishable infamy of his name, and make it immortal.

What then, my lord, is this the event of all the sacrifices you have made to Lord Bute's patronage, and to your own unfortunate ambition? Was it for this you abandoned your earliest friendships, —the warmest connexions of your youth, and all those honourable engagements, by which you once solicited, and might have acquired the esteem of your country? Have you secured no recompence for such a waste of honour? Unhappy man! what

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party will receive the common deserter of all parties? Without a client to flatter, without a friend to console you, and with only one companion from the honest house of Bloomsbury, you must now retire into a dreadful solitude, which you have created for yourself. At the most active period of life, you must quit the busy scene, and conceal yourself from the world, if you would hope to save the wretched remains of a ruined reputation. The vices never fail of their effect. They operate like age—bring on dishonour before its time, and in the prime of youth leave the character broken and exhausted.

Yet your conduct has been mysterious, as well as contemptible. Where is now that firmness, or obstinacy, so long boasted of by your friends, and acknowledged by your enemies? We were taught to expect, that you would not leave the ruin of this country to be completed by other hands, but were determined either to gain a decisive victory over the constitution or to perish, bravely at least, in the last dike of the prerogative. You knew the danger, and might have been provided for it. You took sufficient time to prepare for a meeting with your parliament, to confirm the mercenary fidelity of your dependants, and to suggest to your Sovereign a language suited to his dignity at least, if not to his benevolence and wis-

dom. Yet, while the whole kingdom was agitated with anxious expectation upon one great point, you meanly evaded the question, and, instead of the explicit firmness and decision of a King, gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier, and the whining piety of a methodist. We had reason to expect, that notice would have been taken of the petitions, which the King has received from the English nation ; and although I can conceive some personal motives for not yielding to them, I can find none, in common prudence or decency, for treating them with contempt. Be assured, my lord, the English people will not tamely submit to this unworthy treatment ;—they had a right to be heard, and their petitions, if not granted, deserved to be considered. Whatever be the real views and doctrine of a court, the Sovereign should be taught to preserve some forms of attention to his subjects, and if he will not redress their grievances, not to make them a topic of jest and mockery among lords and ladies of the bedchamber. Injuries may be atoned for and forgiven ; but insults admit of no compensation. They degrade the mind in its own esteem, and force it to recover its level by revenge. This neglect of the petitions was however a part of your original plan of government, nor will any consequences it has produced account for

for your deserting your Sovereign, in the midst of that distress, in which you and your new friends had involved him. One would think, my Lord, you might have taken this spirited resolution before you had dissolved the last of those early connexions, which once, even in your own opinion, did honour to your youth;—before you had obliged Lord Granby to quit a service he was attached to;—before you had discarded one Chancellor and killed another. To what an abject condition have you laboured to reduce the best of Princes, when the unhappy man, who yields at last to such personal instance and solicitation, as never can be fairly employed against a subject, feels himself degraded by his compliance, and is unable to survive the disgraceful honours which his gracious Sovereign had compelled him to accept. He was a man of spirit, for he had a quick sense of shame, and death has redeemed his character. I know your Grace too well to appeal to your feelings upon this event; but there is another heart, not yet, I hope, quite callous to the touch of humanity, to which it ought to be a dreadful lesson for ever.

Now, my Lord, let us consider the situation to which you have conducted, and in which you have thought it advisable to abandon your royal master. Whenever the people have complained, and nothing better could be said in defence of the measures

sures of government, it has been the fashion to answer us, though not very fairly, with an appeal to the private virtues of your sovereign. "Has he not, to relieve the people, surrendered a considerable part of his revenue? Has he not made the judges independent by fixing them in their places for life?"——My Lord, we acknowledge the gracious principle, which gave birth to these concessions, and have nothing to regret, but that it has never been adhered to. At the end of seven years, we are loaded with a debt of above five hundred thousand pounds upon the civil list, and we now see the Chancellor of Great Britain tyrannically forced out of his office, not for want of abilities, not for want of integrity, or of attention to his duty, but for delivering his honest opinion in parliament, upon the greatest constitutional question that has arisen since the revolution.——We care not to whose private virtues you appeal; the theory of such a government is falsehood and mockery;——the practice is oppression. You have laboured then (though I confess to no purpose) to rob your master of the only plausible answer that ever was given in defence of his government—of the opinion, which the people had conceived of his personal honour and integrity.—The Duke of Bedford was more moderate than your Grace. He only forced his master to violate a solemn promise made

to an individual. But you, my Lord, have successfully extended your advice to every political, every moral engagement, that could bind either the magistrate or the man. The condition of a king is often miserable, but it required your Grace's abilities to make it contemptible.— You will say perhaps that the faithful servants, in whose hands you have left him, are able to retrieve his honour and to support his government. You have publicly declared, even since your resignation, that you approved of their measures, and admired their conduct,—particularly that of the Earl of Sandwich. What a pity it is, that, with all this appearance, you should think it necessary to separate yourself from such amiable companions. You forget, my Lord, that while you are lavish in the praise of men whom you desert, you are publicly opposing your conduct to your opinions, and depriving yourself of the only plausible pretence you had for leaving your sovereign overwhelmed with distress; I call it plausible, for, in truth, there is no reason whatsoever, less than the frowns of your master, that could justify a man of spirit for abandoning his post at a moment so critical and important? It is in vain to evade the question. If you will not speak out, the public have a right to judge from appearances. We are authorised to conclude, that

that you either differed from your colleagues, whose measures you still affect to defend, or that you thought the administration of the King's affairs no longer tenable. You are at liberty to choose between the hypocrite and the coward. Your best friends are in doubt which way they shall incline. Your country unites the characters, and gives you credit for them both. For my own part, I see nothing inconsistent in your conduct. You began with betraying the People,—you conclude with betraying the King.

In your treatment of particular persons, you have preserved the uniformity of your character, Even Mr. Bradshaw declares, that no man was ever so ill used as himself. As to the provision you have made for his family, he was intitled to it by the house he lives in. The successor of one chancellor might well pretend to be the rival of another. It is the breach of private friendship which touches Mr. Bradshaw; and to say the truth, when a man of his rank and abilities had taken so active a part in your affairs, he ought not to have been let down at last with a miserable pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year. Colonel Luttrell, Mr. Onslow, and Mr. Burgoyne, were equally engaged with you, and have rather more reason to complain than Mr. Bradshaw. These are men, my Lord, whose friendship you should have ad-
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hered to on the same principle on which you deserted Lord Rockingham, Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, and the Duke of Portland. We can easily account for your violating your engagements with men of honour, but why should you betray your natural connexions? Why separate yourself from Lord Sandwich, Lord Gower, and Mr. Rigby, or leave the three worthy gentlemen above-mentioned to shift for themselves? With all the fashionable indulgence of the times, this country does not abound in characters like theirs; and you may find it a difficult matter to recruit the black catalogue of your friends.

The recollection of the royal patent you sold to Mr. Hine, obliges me to say a word in defence of a man whom you have taken the most dishonourable means to injure. I do not refer to the sham prosecution which you affected to carry on against him. On that ground, I doubt not he is prepared to meet you with ten-fold recrimination, and to set you at defiance. The injury you have done him affects his moral character. You knew that the offer to purchase the reversion of a place which has heretofore been sold under a decree of the Court of Chancery, however imprudent in his situation, would no way tend to cover him with that sort of guilt which you wished to fix upon him in the eyes of the world. You laboured then, by
every

every species of false suggestion, and even by publishing counterfeit letters, to have it understood, that he had proposed terms of accommodation to you, and had offered to abandon his principles, his party, and his friends. You consulted your own breast for a character of consummate treachery, and gave it to the public for that of Mr. Vaughan. I think myself obliged to do this justice to an injured man, because I was deceived by the appearances thrown out by your Grace, and have frequently spoken of his conduct with indignation. If he really be, what I think him, honest, though mistaken, he will be happy in recovering his reputation, though at the expence of his understanding. Here, I see, the matter is likely to rest. Your Grace is afraid to carry on the prosecution. Mr. Hine keeps quiet possession of his purchase; and governor Burgoyne, relieved from the apprehension of refunding the money, sits down, for the remainder of his life, INFAMOUS and CONTENTED.

I believe, my Lord, I may now take my leave of you for ever. You are no longer that resolute minister, who had spirit to support the most violent measures; who compensated for the want of good and great qualities, by a brave determination (which some people admired and relied on) to maintain himself without them. The reputation

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of obstinacy and perseverance might have supplied the place of all the absent virtues. You have now added the last negative to your character, and meanly confessed that you are destitute of the common spirit of a man. Retire then, my Lord, and hide your blushes from the world; for, with such a load of shame, even BLACK may change its colour. A mind such as yours, in the solitary hours of domestic enjoyment, may still find topics of consolation. You may find it in the memory of violated friendship: in the afflictions of an accomplished prince, whom you have disgraced and deserted, and in the agitations of a great country, driven by your councils, to the brink of destruction.

The palm of ministerial firmness is now transferred to Lord North. He tells us so himself, with the plenitude of the *ore rotundo*; and I am ready enough to believe, that, while he can keep his place, he will not easily be persuaded to resign it. Your Grace was the firm minister of yesterday: Lord North is the firm minister of to-day. To-morrow, perhaps, his Majesty, in his wisdom, may give us a rival for you both. You are too well acquainted with the temper of your late allies, to think it possible that Lord North should be permitted to govern this country. If we may believe common fame, they have shewn him their

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superiority already. His Majesty is indeed too gracious to insult his subjects, by chusing his First Minister from among the domestics of the Duke of Bedford. That would have been too gross an outrage to the three kingdoms. Their purpose, however, is equally answered by pushing forward this unhappy figure, and forcing it to bear the odium of measures which they in reality direct. Without immediately appearing to govern, they possess the power, and distribute the emoluments of government as they think proper. They still adhere to the spirit of that calculation, which made Mr. Luttrell representative of Middlesex. Far from regretting your retreat, they assure us very gravely, that it increases the real strength of the ministry. According to this way of reasoning, they will probably grow stronger, and more flourishing, every hour they exist; for I think there is hardly a day passes in which some one or other of his Majesty's servants does not leave them to improve by the loss of his assistance. But, alas! their countenances speak a different language. When the members drop off, the main body cannot be insensible of its approaching dissolution. Even the violence of their proceedings is a signal of despair. Like broken tenants, who have had warning to quit the premises, they curse their landlord, destroy the fixtures, throw every thing into confusion, and care not what mischief they do to the estate.

JUN I U S,

L E T T E R XXXIV.

S I R,

March 19, 1770.

I Believe there is no man, however indifferent about the interests of this country, who will not readily confess that the situation, to which we are now reduced, whether it has arisen from the violence of faction, or from an arbitrary system of government, justifies the most melancholy apprehensions, and calls for the exertion of whatever wisdom or vigour is left among us. The King's answer to the Remonstrance of the city of London, and the measures since adopted by the ministry, amount to a plain declaration, that the principle on which Mr. Luttrell was seated in the house of Commons, is to be supported in all its consequences, and carried to its utmost extent. The same spirit which violated the freedom of election, now invades the declaration and bill of rights, and threatens to punish the subject for exercising a privilege, hitherto undisputed, of petitioning the crown. The grievances of the people are aggravated by insults; their complaints not merely disregarded, but checked by authority; and every one of those acts, against which they remonstrated, confirmed by the King's decisive approbation. At such a moment no honest man will remain silent or inactive.

active. However distinguished by rank or property, in the rights of freedom we are all equal. As we are Englishmen, the least considerable man among us has an interest equal to the proudest nobleman, in the laws and constitution of his country, and is equally called upon to make a generous contribution in support of them;—whether it be the heart to conceive, the understanding to direct, or the hand to execute. It is a common cause in which we are all interested, in which we should all be engaged. The man who deserts it at this alarming crisis, is an enemy to his country, and, what I think of infinitely less value, a traitor to his sovereign. The subject who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate, will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures. The city of London have given an example, which, I doubt not, will be followed by the whole kingdom. The noble spirit of the metropolis is the life-blood of the state, collected at the heart: from that point it circulates, with health and vigour, through every artery of the constitution. The time is come, when the body of the English people must assert their own cause: conscious of their strength, and animated by a sense of their duty, they will not surrender their birthright to ministers, parliaments, or kings.

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The city of London have expressed their sentiments with freedom and firmness ; they have spoken truth boldly ; and, in whatever light their Remonstrance may be represented by courtiers, I defy the most subtle lawyer in this country to point out a single instance, in which they have exceeded the truth. Even that assertion, which we are told is most offensive to parliament, in the theory of the English constitution, is strictly true. If any part of the representative body be not chosen by the people, that part vitiates and corrupts the whole. If there be a defect in the representation of the people, that power, which alone is equal to the making of laws in this country, is not complete, and the acts of parliament under that circumstance, are not the acts of a pure and entire legislature. I speak of the theory of our constitution ; and whatever difficulties or inconveniences may attend the practice, I am ready to maintain, that, as far as the fact deviates from the principle, so far the practice is vicious and corrupt. I have not heard a question raised upon any other part of the Remonstrance. That the principle on which the Middlesex Election was determined, is more pernicious in its effects, than either the levying of ship-money by Charles the First, or the suspending power assumed by his son, will hardly be disputed by any man who understands or wishes well to the English

English constitution. It is not an act of open violence done by the King, or any direct and palpable breach of the laws attempted by his minister, that can ever endanger the liberties of this country. Against such a King or minister the people would immediately take the alarm, and all parties unite to oppose him. The laws may be grossly violated in particular instances, without any direct attack upon the whole system. Facts of that kind stand alone; they are attributed to necessity, not defended upon principle. We can never be really in danger, until the forms of parliament are made use of to destroy the substance of our civil and political liberties;—until parliament itself betrays its trust, by contributing to establish new principles of government, and employing the very weapons, committed to it by the collective body, to stab the constitution.

As for the terms of the Remonstrance, I presume it will not be affirmed, by any person less polished than a gentleman-usher, that this is a season for compliments. Our gracious sovereign indeed is abundantly civil to himself. Instead of an answer to a petition, his Majesty very gracefully pronounces his own panegyric; and I confess, that, as far as his personal behaviour, or the royal purity of his intentions is concerned, the truth of those declarations, which the minister has drawn

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up for his master, cannot decently be disputed. In every other respect, I affirm that they are absolutely unsupported, either in argument or fact. I must add too, that supposing the Speech were otherwise unexceptionable, it is not a direct Answer to the Petition of the city. His Majesty is pleased to say, that he is always ready to receive the requests of his subjects; yet the sheriffs were twice sent back with an excuse, and it was certainly debated in council whether or no the magistrates of the city of London should be admitted to an audience. Whether the Remonstrance be or be not injurious to parliament, is the very question between the parliament and the people, and such a question, as cannot be decided by the assertion of a third party, however respectable. That the petitioning for a dissolution of parliament is irreconcilable with the principles of the constitution is a new doctrine. His Majesty perhaps has not been informed, that the house of Commons themselves have, by a formal resolution, admitted it to be the right of the subject. His Majesty proceeds to assure us that he has made the laws the rule of his conduct.—Was it in ordering or permitting his ministers to apprehend Mr. Wilkes by a general warrant?—Was it in suffering his ministers to revive the obsolete maxim of *nullum tempus* to rob the Duke of Portland of his property, and there-

by give a decisive turn to a county election?—
 Was it in erecting a chamber consultation of surgeons with authority to examine into and supersede the legal verdict of a jury? Or did his Majesty consult the laws of this country, when he permitted his secretary of state to declare, that, whenever the civil magistrate is trifled with, a military force must be sent for, *without the delay of a moment*, and effectually employed? Or was it in the barbarous exactness, with which this illegal, inhuman doctrine was carried into execution?—If his Majesty had recollected these facts, I think he would never have said, at least with any reference to the measures of his government, that he had made the laws the rule of his conduct. To talk of preserving the affections or relying on the support of his subjects while he continues to act upon these principles, is indeed paying a compliment to their loyalty, which I hope they have too much spirit and understanding to deserve.

His Majesty, we are told, is not only punctual in the performance of his own duty, but careful not to assume any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. Admitting this last assertion to be strictly true, it is no way to the purpose. The city of London have not desired the King to assume a power placed in other hands.

hands. If they had, I should hope to see the person, who dared to present such a petition, immediately impeached. They solicit their King to exert that constitutional authority which the laws have vested in him, for the benefit of his subjects. They call upon him to make use of his lawful prerogative in a case, which our laws evidently supposed might happen, since they have provided for it by trusting the sovereign with a discretionary power to dissolve the parliament. This request will, I am confident, be supported by remonstrances from all parts of the kingdom. His Majesty will find at last, that this is the sense of his people, and that it is not his interest to support either ministry or parliament, at the hazard of a breach with the collective body of his subjects.—That he is the King of a free people is indeed his greatest glory. That he may long continue the King of a free people is the second wish that animates my heart. The first is, THAT THE PEOPLE MAY BE FREE.

JUNIUS.

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LET.

L E T T E R XXXV.

S I R,

April 3, 1770.

IN my last letter I offered you my opinion of the truth and propriety of his Majesty's answer to the City of London, considering it merely as the speech of a minister, drawn up in his own defence, and delivered, as usual, by the chief Magistrate. I would separate, as much as possible, the King's personal character and behaviour from the acts of the present government. I wish it to be understood that his Majesty had in effect no more concern in the substance of what he said, than Sir James Hodges had in the Remonstrance, and that as Sir James, in virtue of his office, was obliged to speak the sentiments of the people, his Majesty might think himself bound, by the same official obligation, to give a graceful utterance to the sentiments of his minister. The cold formality of a well-repeated lesson is widely distant from the animated expression of the heart.

This distinction, however, is only true with respect to the measure itself. The consequences of it reach beyond the minister, and materially affect his Majesty's honour. In their own nature they are formidable enough to alarm a man of prudence, and disgraceful enough to afflict a man of spirit.

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A subject, whose sincere attachment to his Majesty's person and family is founded upon rational principles, will not, in the present conjuncture, be scrupulous of alarming, or even of afflicting his sovereign. I know there is another sort of loyalty, of which his Majesty has had plentiful experience. When the loyalty of Tories, Jacobites, and Scotchmen, has once taken possession of an unhappy prince, it seldom leaves him without accomplishing his destruction. When the poison of their doctrines has tainted the natural benevolence of his disposition, when their insidious counsels have corrupted the *Stamina* of his government, what antidote can restore him to his political health and honour, but the firm sincerity of his English subjects?

It has not been usual in this country, at least since the days of Charles the First, to see the sovereign personally at variance, or engaged in a direct altercation with his subjects. Acts of grace and indulgence are wisely appropriated to him, and should constantly be performed by himself. He never should appear but in an amiable light to his subjects. Even in France, as long as any ideas of a limited monarchy were thought worth preserving, it was a maxim, that no man should leave the royal presence discontented. They have lost

or renounced the moderate principles of their government, and now, when their parliaments venture to remonstrate, the tyrant comes forward, and answers absolutely for himself. The spirit of their present constitution requires that the King should be feared, and the principle, I believe, is tolerably supported by the fact. But, in our political system, the theory is at variance with the practice, for the King should be beloved. Measures of greater severity may, indeed, in some circumstances, be necessary; but the minister who advises, should take the execution and odium of them entirely upon himself. He not only betrays his master, but violates the spirit of the English constitution, when he exposes the chief magistrate to the personal hatred or contempt of his subjects. When we speak of the firmness of government, we mean an uniform system of measures, deliberately adopted, and resolutely maintained by the servants of the crown, not a peevish asperity in the language or behaviour of the sovereign. The government of a weak, irresolute monarch may be wise, moderate, and firm;—that of an obstinate, capricious prince, on the contrary, may be feeble, undetermined, and relaxed. The reputation of public measures depends upon the minister, who is responsible, not upon the King, whose private opi-

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nions are not supposed to have any weight against the advice of his council, whose personal authority should therefore never be interposed in public affairs.—This, I believe, is true constitutional doctrine. But for a moment let us suppose it false. Let it be taken for granted, that an occasion may arise, in which a King of England shall be compelled to take upon himself the ungrateful office of rejecting the petitions, and censuring the conduct of his subjects; and let the city Remonstrance be supposed to have created so extraordinary an occasion. On this principle, which I presume no friend of administration will dispute, let the wisdom and spirit of the ministry be examined. They advise the King to hazard his dignity, by a positive declaration of his own sentiments;—they suggest to him a language full of severity and reproach. What follows? When his Majesty had taken so decisive a part in support of his ministry and parliament, he had a right to expect from them a reciprocal demonstration of firmness in their own cause, and of zeal for his honour. He had reason to expect (and such, I doubt not, were the blustering promises of Lord North) that the persons, whom he had been advised to charge with having failed in their respect to him, with having injured parliament, and violated the principles of the constitution,

tion, should not have been permitted to escape without some severe marks of the displeasure and vengeance of parliament. As the matter stands, the minister, after placing his sovereign in the most unfavourable light to his subjects, and after attempting to fix the ridicule and odium of his own precipitate measures upon the royal character, leaves him a solitary figure upon the scene, to recal, if he can, or to compensate, by future compliances, for one unhappy demonstration of ill supported firmness, and ineffectual resentment. As a man of spirit, his Majesty cannot but be sensible, that the lofty terms in which he was persuaded to reprimand the city, when united with the silly conclusion of the business, resemble the pomp of a mock-tragedy, where the most pathetic sentiments, and even the sufferings of the hero are calculated for derision.

Such has been the boasted firmness and consistency of a minister, whose appearance in the House of Common was thought essential to the King's service ;—whose presence was to influence every division ;—who had a voice to persuade, an eye to penetrate, a gesture to command. The reputation of these great qualities has been fatal to his friends. The little dignity of Mr. Ellis has been committed. The mine was sunk ;—combustibles provided, and Welbore Ellis, the Guy Faux of the

the fable, waited only for the signal of command. All of a sudden the country gentlemen discover how grossly they have been deceived;—the minister's heart fails him, the grand plot is defeated in a moment, and poor Mr. Ellis and his motion taken into custody. From the event of Friday last one would imagine, that some fatality hung over this gentleman. Whether he makes or suppresses a motion, he is equally sure of his disgrace. But the complexion of the times will suffer no man to be Vice-treasurer of Ireland with impunity.

I do not mean to express the smallest anxiety for the minister's reputation. He acts separately for himself, and the most shameful inconsistency may perhaps be no disgrace to him. But when the Sovereign, who represents the Majesty of the state, appears in person, his dignity should be supported. The occasion should be important;—the plan well considered;—the execution steady and consistent. My zeal for his Majesty's real honour compels me to assert, that it has been too much the system of the present reign, to introduce him personally, either to act for, or to defend his servants. They persuade him to do what is properly *their* business, and desert him in the midst of it. Yet this is an inconvenience, to which he must for ever be exposed,

exposed, while he adheres to a ministry divided among themselves, or unequal, in credit and ability to the great task they have undertaken. Instead of reserving the interposition of the royal personage, as the last resource of government, their weakness obliges them to apply it to every ordinary occasion, and to render it cheap and common in the opinion of the people. Instead of supporting their master, they look to *him* for support, and for the emoluments of remaining one day more in office, care not how much his sacred character is prostituted and dishonoured.

If I thought it possible for this paper to reach the closet, I would venture to appeal at once to his Majesty's judgment. I would ask him, but in the most respectful terms, "As you are a young man, " Sir, who ought to have a life of happiness in " prospect;—as you are a husband;—as you are " a father, [your filial duties I own have been religiously performed] is it *bona fide* for your interest or your honour, to sacrifice your domestic " tranquillity, and to live in a perpetual disagreement with your people, merely to preserve such " a chain of beings as North, Barrington, Weymouth, Gower, Ellis, Onslow, Rigby, Jerry " Dyson, and Sandwich? Their very names are " a satire upon all government; and I defy the " gravest

“ graveſt of your chaplains to read the catalogue
 “ without laughing.”

For my own part, Sir, I have always conſidered addreſſes from parliament as a fashionable, unmeaning formality. Uſurpers, idiots, and tyrants have been ſucceſſively complimented with almoſt the ſame profeſſions of duty and affection. But let us ſuppoſe them to mean exactly what they profeſs. The conſequences deſerve to be conſidered. Either the ſovereign is a man of high ſpirit and dangerous ambition, ready to take advantage of the treachery of his parliament, ready to accept of the ſurrender they make him of the public liberty ;—or he is a mild, undeſigning prince, who, provided they indulge him with a little ſtate and pageantry, would of himſelf intend no miſchief. On the firſt ſuppoſition, it muſt ſoon be decided by the ſword, whether the conſtitution ſhould be loſt or preſerved. On the ſecond, a prince no way qualified for the execution of a great and hazardous enterprize, and without any determined object in view, may nevertheless be driven into ſuch deſperate meaſures, as may lead directly to his ruin, or diſgrace himſelf by a ſhameful fluctuation between the extremes of violence at one moment, and timidity at another. The miniſter perhaps may have reaſon to be ſatiſfied with the ſucceſs of
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the present hour, and with the profits of his employment. He is the tenant of the day, and has no interest in the inheritance. The sovereign himself is bound by other obligations, and ought to look forward to a superior, a permanent interest. His paternal tenderness should remind him how many hostages he has given to society. The ties of nature come powerfully in aid of oaths and protestations. The father, who considers his own precarious state of health, and the possible hazard of a long minority, will wish to see the family estate free and unincumbered. What is the dignity of the crown, though it were really maintained ;—what is the honour of parliament, supposing it could exist without any foundation of integrity and justice ;—or what is the vain reputation of firmness, even if the scheme of government were uniform and consistent, compared with the heart-felt affections of the people, with the happiness and security of the royal family, or even with the grateful acclamations of the populace. Whatever stile of contempt may be adopted by ministers or parliaments, no man sincerely despises the voice of the English nation. The house of Commons are only interpreters, whose duty it is to convey the sense of the people faithfully to the crown. If the interpretation be false or imperfect, the constituent powers

powers are called upon to deliver their own sentiments. Their speech is rude, but intelligible ;—their gestures fierce, but full of explanation. Perplexed by sophistries, their honest eloquence rises into action. The first appeal was to the integrity of their representatives :—the second to the King's justice ;—the last argument of the people, whenever they have recourse to it, will carry more perhaps than persuasion to parliament, or supplication to the throne.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XXXVI.

S I R,

May 28, 1770.

WHILE parliament was sitting, it would neither have been safe, nor perhaps quite regular, to offer any opinion to the public, upon the justice or wisdom of their proceedings. To pronounce fairly upon their conduct, it was necessary to wait until we could consider, in one view, the beginning, the progress, and the conclusion of their deliberations. The cause of the public was undertaken and supported by men, from whose abilities and united authority, to say nothing of the advantageous ground they stood on, might well

well be thought sufficient to determine a popular question in favour of the people. Neither was the house of Commons so absolutely engaged in defence of the Ministry, or even of their own resolutions, but that *they* might have paid some decent regard to the known disposition of their Constituents, and without any dishonour to their firmness, might have retracted an opinion too hastily adopted, when they saw the alarm it had created, and how strongly it was opposed by the general sense of the Nation. The Ministry too would have consulted their own immediate interest, in making some concession satisfactory to the moderate part of the people. Without touching the fact, they might have consented to guard against, or give up the dangerous principle, on which it was established. In this state of things, I think it was highly improbable at the beginning of the session, that the complaints of the people upon a matter, which, in *their* apprehension at least, immediately affected the life of the constitution, would be treated with as much contempt by their own representatives, and by the house of Lords, as they had been by the other branch of the legislature. Despairing of their integrity, we had a right to expect something from their prudence, and something from their fears. The Duke of Grafton
certainly

certainly did not foresee to what an extent the corruption of a Parliament might be carried. He thought, perhaps, that there was still some portion of shame or virtue left in the majority of the house of Commons, or that there was a line in public prostitution, beyond which they would scruple to proceed. Had the young man been a little more practised in the world, or had he ventured to measure the characters of other men by his own, he would not have been so easily discouraged.

The prorogation of parliament naturally calls upon us to review their proceedings, and to consider the condition in which they have left the kingdom. I do not question but they have done what is usually called the King's Business much to his Majesty's satisfaction. We have only to lament, that, in consequence of a system introduced or revived in the present reign, this kind of merit should be very consistent with the neglect of every duty they owe to the nation. The interval between the opening of the last and the close of the former Session was longer than usual. Whatever were the views of the Minister in deferring the meeting of Parliament, sufficient time was certainly given to every Member of the house of Commons, to look back upon the steps he had taken, and the

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consequences they had produced. The zeal of party, the violence of personal animosities, and the heat of contention had leisure to subside. From that period, whatever resolution they took was deliberate and propense. In the preceding Session, the dependents of the Ministry had affected to believe, that the final determination of the question would have satisfied the nation, or at least put a stop to their complaints ; as if the certainty of an evil could diminish the sense of it, or the nature of injustice could be altered by decision.

But they found the people of England were in a temper very distant from submission ; and, altho' it was contended that the house of Commons could not themselves reverse a resolution, which had the force and effect of a judicial sentence, there were other constitutional expedients, which would have given a security against any similar attempts for the future. The general proposition, in which the whole country had an interest, might have been reduced to a particular fact, in which Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Luttrell would alone have been concerned. The house of Lords might interpose ; —the King might dissolve the Parliament ; —or, if every other resource failed, there still lay a grand constitutional Writ of Error, in behalf of the people, from the decision of one court to the wisdom

dom of the whole legislature. Every one of these remedies has been successively attempted. The people performed their part with dignity, spirit, and perseverance. For many months his Majesty heard nothing from his people but the language of complaint and resentment;—unhappily for this country, it was the daily triumph of his Courtiers that he heard it with an indifference approaching to contempt.

The House of Commons having assumed a power unknown to the constitution, were determined not merely to support it in the single instance in question, but to maintain the doctrine in its utmost extent, and to establish the fact as a precedent in law, to be applied in whatever manner his Majesty's servants should hereafter think fit. Their proceedings upon this occasion are a strong proof that a decision, in the first instance illegal and unjust, can only be supported by a continuation of falsehood and injustice. To support their former resolutions, they were obliged to violate some of the best known and established rules of the House. In one instance they went so far as to declare, in open defiance of truth and common sense, that it was not the rule of the House to divide a complicated question, at the request

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quest of a Member *. But after trampling upon the laws of the land, it was not wonderful that they should treat the private regulations of their own assembly with equal disregard. The Speaker, being young in office, began with pretending ignorance, and ended with deciding for the Ministry.

We were not surprized at the decision; but he hesitated and blushed at his own baseness, and every man was astonished.

The interest of the public was vigorously supported in the House of Lords. Their right to defend the constitution against any incroachment of the other estates, and the necessity of exerting it at this period, was urged to them with every argument that could be supposed to influence the heart or the understanding. But it soon appeared, that they had already taken their part, and were determined to support the House of Commons, not only at the expence of truth and decency, but even by a surrender of their own most important rights. Instead of performing that duty which the constitution expected from them, in return for the dignity and independence of their station, in return for the hereditary share it has given them in the legislature, the majority of them made a common

* This extravagant resolution appears in the Votes of the House; but, in the Minutes of the Committees, the instances of resolutions contrary to law and truth, or of refusals to acknowledge law and truth when proposed to them, are innumerable.

common cause with the other House in oppressing the people, and established another doctrine as false in itself, and if possible more pernicious to the constitution, than that on which the Middlesex election was determined. By resolving that they had no right to impeach a judgment of the house of Commons in any case whatsoever, where that House has a competent jurisdiction, they in effect gave up the constitutional check and reciprocal control of one branch of the legislature over the other, which is perhaps the greatest and most important object provided for by the division of the whole legislative power into three estates; and now, let the judicial decisions of the house of Commons be ever so extravagant, let their declarations of the law be ever so flagrantly false, arbitrary, and oppressive to the subject, the house of Lords have imposed a slavish silence upon themselves;—they cannot interpose,—they cannot protect the subject,—they cannot defend the laws of their country. A concession so extraordinary in itself, so contradictory to the principles of their own institution, cannot but alarm the most unsuspecting mind. We may well conclude, that the Lords would hardly have yielded so much to the other House, without the certainty of a compensation, which can only be made to them at the

expence of the people. The arbitrary power they have assumed of imposing fines and committing, during pleasure, will now be exercised in its fullest extent. The House of Commons are too much in their debt to question or interrupt their proceedings. The Crown too, we may be well assured, will lose nothing of this new distribution of power. After declaring that to petition for a dissolution of Parliament is irreconcilable with the principles of the constitution, his Majesty has reason to expect that some extraordinary compliment will be returned to the royal prerogative. The three branches of the legislature seem to treat their separate rights and interests as the Roman Triumvirs did their friends. They reciprocally sacrifice them to the animosities of each other, and establish a detestable union among themselves upon the ruin of the laws and liberty of the commonwealth.

Through the whole proceedings of the House of Commons in this session, there is an apparent, a palpable consciousness of guilt, which has prevented their daring to assert their own dignity, where it has been immediately and grossly attacked. In the course of Doctor Musgrave's examination, he said every thing that can be conceived mortifying to individuals, or offensive to the

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the House. They voted his information frivolous, but they were awed by his firmness and integrity, and sunk under it. The terms, in which the sale of a patent to Mr. Hine were communicated to the public, naturally called for a parliamentary enquiry. The integrity of the house of Commons was directly impeached; but they had not courage to move in their own vindication, because the enquiry would have been fatal to Colonel Burgoyne, and the Duke of Grafton. When Sir George Saville branded them with the name of traitors to their constituents, when the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and Mr. Trecothick, expressly avowed and maintained every part of the City Remonstrance, why did they tamely submit to be insulted? Why did they not immediately expel those refractory members? Conscious of the motives on which they had acted, they prudently preferred infamy to danger, and were better prepared to meet the contempt, than to rouse the indignation of the whole people. Had they expelled those five members, the consequences of the new doctrine of incapacitation would have come immediately home to every man. The truth of it would then have been fairly tried, without any reference to Mr. Wilkes's private character, or the dignity of the House, or the obstinacy of one particular

ticular county. These topics, I know, have had their weight with men, who, affecting a character of moderation, in reality consult nothing but their own immediate ease;—who are weak enough to acquiesce under a flagrant violation of the laws, when it does not directly touch themselves, and care not what injustice is practised upon a man, whose moral character they piously think themselves obliged to condemn. In any other circumstances, the House of Commons must have forfeited all their credit and dignity, if after such gross provocation, they had permitted those five Gentlemen to sit any longer among them. We should then have seen and felt the operation of a precedent, which is represented to be perfectly barren and harmless. But there is a set of men in this country, whose understandings measure the violation of law, by the magnitude of the instance, not by the important consequences, which flow directly from the principle, and the Minister, I presume, did not think it safe to quicken their apprehensions too soon. Had Mr. Hampden reasoned and acted like the moderate men of these days, instead of hazarding his whole fortune in a law-suit with the Crown, he would have quietly paid the twenty shillings demanded of him,—the Stuart family would probably have continued upon

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the throne, and, at this moment, the imposition of ship money would have been an acknowledged prerogative of the Crown.

What then has been the business of the Session, after voting the supplies, and confirming the determination of the Middlesex Election? The extraordinary prorogation of the Irish Parliament, and the just discontents of that kingdom, have been passed by without notice. Neither the general situation of our Colonies, nor that particular distress which forced the inhabitants of Boston to take up arms in their defence, have been thought worthy of a moment's consideration. In the repeal of those acts, which were most offensive to America, the Parliament have done every thing, but remove the offence. They have relinquished the revenue, but judiciously taken care to preserve the contention. It is not pretended that the continuation of the tea duty is to produce any direct benefit whatsoever to the Mother Country. What is it then but an odious, unprofitable exertion of a speculative right, and fixing a badge of slavery upon the Americans, without service to their Masters? But it has pleased God to give us a Ministry and a Parliament, who are neither to be persuaded by argument, nor instructed by experience.

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Lord North, I presume, will not claim an extraordinary merit from any thing he has done this year in the improvement or application of the revenue. A great operation, directed to an important object, though it should fail of success, marks the genius and elevates the character of a minister. A poor contracted understanding deals in little schemes, which dishonour him if they fail, and do him no credit when they succeed. Lord North had fortunately the means in his possession of reducing all the four per cents at once. The failure of his first enterprize in finance is not half so disgraceful to his reputation as a minister, as the enterprize itself is injurious to the public. Instead of striking one decisive blow, which would have cleared the market at once, upon terms proportioned to the price of the four per cents, six weeks ago, he has tampered with a pitiful portion of a commodity, which ought never to have been touched but in gross;—he has given notice to the holders of that stock of a design formed by government to prevail upon them to surrender it by degrees, consequently has warned them to hold up and enhance the price;—so that the plan of reducing the four per cents must either be dropped entirely, or continued with an increasing disadvantage to the public. The minister's sagacity
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has served to raise the value of the thing he means to purchase, and to sink that of the three per cents, which it is his purpose to sell. In effect, he has contrived to make it the interest of the proprietor of four per cents to sell out and buy three per cents in the market, rather than subscribe his stock upon any terms that can possibly be offered by government.

The state of the nation leads us naturally to consider the situation of the King. The prorogation of a parliament has the effect of a temporary dissolution. The odium of measures adopted by the collective body sits lightly upon the separate members who composed it. They retire into summer quarters, and rest from the disgraceful labours of the campaign. But as for the Sovereign, *it is not so with him.* He has a permanent existence in this country; He cannot withdraw himself from the complaints, the discontents, the reproaches of his subjects. They pursue him to his retirement, and invade his domestic happiness, when no address can be obtained from an obsequious parliament to encourage or console him. In other times, the interest of the King and people of England was, as it ought to be, entirely the same. A new system has not only been adopted in fact, but professed upon principle. Ministers are no longer

longer the public servants of the state, but the private domestics of the Sovereign. One particular class of men are permitted to call themselves the King's friends, as if the body of the people were the King's enemies; or as if his Majesty looked for a resource or consolation, in the attachment of a few favourites, against the general contempt and detestation of his subjects. Edward, and Richard the Second, made the same distinction between the collective body of the people, and a contemptible party who surrounded the throne. The event of their mistaken conduct might have been a warning to their successors. Yet the errors of those princes were not without excuse. They had as many false friends, as our present gracious Sovereign, and infinitely greater temptations to seduce them. They were neither sober, religious, nor demure. Intoxicated with pleasure, they wasted their inheritance in pursuit of it. Their lives were like a rapid torrent, brilliant in prospect, though useless or dangerous in its course. In the dull, unanimated existence of other princes, we see nothing but a sickly, stagnant water, which taints the atmosphere without fertilizing the soil.—The morality of a King is not to be measured by vulgar rules. His situation is singular. There are faults which do him honour, and

and virtues that disgrace him. A faultless, insipid equality in his character, is neither capable of vice nor virtue in the extreme; but it secures his submission to those persons, whom he has been accustomed to respect, and makes him a dangerous instrument of *their* ambition. Secluded from the world, attached from his infancy to one set of persons, and one set of ideas, he can neither open his heart to new connexions, nor his mind to better information. A character of this sort is the soil fittest to produce that obstinate bigotry in politics and religion, which begins with a meritorious sacrifice of the understanding, and finally conducts the monarch and the martyr to the block.

At any other period, I doubt not, the scandalous disorders, which have been introduced into the government of all the dependencies in the Empire, would have roused and engaged the attention of the public. The odious abuse and prostitution of the prerogative at home,—the unconstitutional employment of the military,—the arbitrary fines and commitments by the house of Lords, and court of King's-Bench;—the mercy of a chaste and pious prince extended chearfully to a wilful murderer, because that murderer is the brother of a common prostitute, would, I think, at any other time, have excited universal indignation,

tion. But the daring attack upon the constitution, in the Middlesex Election, makes us callous and indifferent to inferior grievances. No man regards an eruption upon the surface, when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart. The free election of our representatives in parliament comprehends, because it is, the source and security of every right and privilege of the English nation. The ministry have realised the compendious ideas of Caligula. They know that the liberty, the laws, and property of an Englishman have in truth but one neck, and that to violate the freedom of election strikes deeply at them all.

JUNIUS.

L E T T E R XXXVII.

To Lord NORTH.

My LORD,

August 22, 1770.

MR. Luttrell's services were the chief support and ornament of the Duke of Grafton's administration. The honour of rewarding them was reserved for your Lordship. The Duke, it seems, had contracted an obligation he was ashamed to acknowledge, and unable to acquit. You, my Lord, had no scruples. You accepted of the succession.

cession with all its incumbrances, and have paid Mr. Luttrell his legacy, at the hazard of ruining the estate.

When this accomplished youth declared himself the champion of government, the world was busy in enquiring what honours or emoluments could be a sufficient recompence, to a young man of his rank and fortune, for submitting to mark his entrance into life with the universal contempt and detestation of his country. His noble father had not been so precipitate. To vacate his seat in parliament;—to intrude upon a county in which he had no interest or connexion;—to possess himself of another man's right, and to maintain it in defiance of public shame as well as justice, bespoke a degree of zeal or of depravity, which all the favour of a pious Prince could hardly requite. I protest, my Lord, there is in this young man's conduct a strain of prostitution, which, for its singularity, I cannot but admire. He has discovered a new line in the human character;—he has degraded even the name of Luttrell, and gratified his father's most sanguine expectations.

The Duke of Grafton, with every possible disposition to patronise this kind of merit, was contented with pronouncing Colonel Luttrell's panegyric. The gallant spirit, the disinterested zeal of
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the young adventurer, were echoed through the House of Lords. His Grace repeatedly pledged himself to the House, as an evidence of the purity of his friend Mr. Luttrell's intentions;—that he had engaged without any prospect of personal benefit, and that the idea of compensation would mortally offend him. The noble Duke could hardly be in earnest; but he had lately quitted his employment, and began to think it necessary to take some care of his reputation. At that very moment, the Irish negotiation was probably begun.—Come forward, thou worthy representative of Lord Bute, and tell this insulted country, who advised the King to appoint Mr. Luttrell ADJUTANT-GENERAL to the army in Ireland. By what management was Colonel Cuninghame prevailed on to resign his employment, and the obsequious Gisborne to accept of a pension for the government of Kinsale*? Was it an original stipulation with the Princess of Wales, or does he owe his preferment to your lordship's partiality,

* This infamous transaction ought to be explained to the public. Colonel Gisborne was quarter-master-general in Ireland. Lord Townshend persuades him to resign to a Scotch officer, one *Frazer*, and gives him the government of Kinsale; Colonel Cuninghame was Adjutant-General in Ireland. Lord Townshend offers him a pension, to induce him to resign to Luttrell. Cuninghame treats the offer with contempt. What's

partiality, or to the Duke of Bedford's friendship? My Lord, though it may not be possible to trace this measure to its source, we can follow the stream, and warn the country of its approaching destruction. The English nation must be roused, and put upon its guard. Mr. Luttrell has already shewn us how far he may be trusted, whenever an open attack is to be made upon the liberties of this country. I do not doubt that there is a deliberate plan formed.—Your Lordship best knows by whom;—the corruption of the legislative body on this side—a military force on the other—and then, *Farewell to England!* It is impossible that any Minister shall dare to advise the King to place such a man as Luttrell in the confidential post of Adjutant-General, if there were not some secret purpose in view, which only such a man as Luttrell is fit to promote. The insult offered to the army in general is as gross as the outrage intended to the people of England. What! Lieutenant-Colonel Luttrell to be Adjutant-General of an army of sixteen thousand men! one would think his Majesty's

to be done? poor Gisborne must move once more.—He accepts of a pension of 500l. a year, until a government of greater value shall become vacant. Colonel Cuninghame is made Governor of Kinsale; and Luttrell, at last, for whom the whole machinery is put in motion, becomes Adjutant-General, and in effect takes the command of the army in Ireland.

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campaigns at Blackheath and Wimbledon might have taught him better.—I cannot help wishing General Hervey joy of a colleague, who does so much honour to the employment.—But, my Lord, this measure is too daring to pass unnoticed, too dangerous to be received with indifference or submission. You shall not have time to new-model the Irish army. They will not submit to be garbled by Colonel Luttrell. As a mischief to the English constitution, (for he is not worth the name of enemy) they already detest him. As a boy, impudently thrust over their heads, they will receive him with indignation and contempt.—As for you, my Lord, who perhaps are no more than the blind, unhappy instrument of Lord Bute and her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, be assured that you shall be called upon to answer for the advice, which has been given, and either discover your accomplices, or fall a sacrifice to their security.

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L E T T E R XXXVIII.

To the Right Honourable Lord MANSFIELD.

My LORD,

Nov. 14, 1770.

THE appearance of this letter will attract the curiosity of the public, and command even your Lordship's attention. I am considerably in your debt, and shall endeavour, once for all, to balance the account. Accept of this address, my Lord, as a prologue to more important scenes, in which you will probably be called upon to act or suffer.

You will not question my veracity, when I assure you that it has not been owing to any particular respect for your person that I have abstained from you so long. Besides the distress and danger with which the press is threatened, when your Lordship is party, and the party is to be judge, I confess I have been deterred by the difficulty of the task. Our language has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you, and exhausted—Ample justice has been done by abler pens than mine to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be *my* humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense.

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Permit me to begin with paying a just tribute to Scotch sincerity, wherever I find it. I own I am not apt to confide in the professions of gentlemen of that country, and when they smile, I feel an involuntary emotion to guard myself against mischief. With this general opinion of an ancient nation, I always thought it much to your Lordship's honour, that, in your earlier days, you were but little infected with the prudence of your country. You had some original attachments, which you took every proper opportunity to acknowledge. The liberal spirit of youth prevailed over your native discretion. Your zeal in the cause of an unhappy prince was expressed with the sincerity of wine, and some of the solemnities of religion. This, I conceive, is the most amiable point of view, in which your character has appeared. Like an honest man, you took that part in politics, which might have been expected, from your birth, education, country, and connexions. There was something generous in your attachment to the banished house of Stuart. We lament the mistakes of a good man, and do not begin to detest him until he affects to renounce his principles. Why did you not adhere to that loyalty you once professed? Why did you not follow the example of your worthy brother? With him, you might have shared

shared in the honour of the Pretender's confidence—with him you might have preserved the integrity of your character, and England, I think, might have spared you without regret.—Your friends will say, perhaps, that although you deserted the fortune of your liege lord, you have adhered firmly to the principles which drove his father from the throne ;—that without openly supporting the person, you have done essential service to the cause, and consoled yourself for the loss of a favourite family, by reviving and establishing the maxims of their government. This is the way, in which a Scotchman's understanding corrects the error of his heart.—My Lord, I acknowledge the truth of the defence, and can trace it through all your conduct. I see, through your whole life, one uniform plan to enlarge the power of the crown, at the expence of the liberty of the subject. To this object, your thoughts, words and actions have been constantly directed. In contempt or ignorance of the common law of England, you have made it your study to introduce into the court, where you preside, maxims of jurisprudence unknown to Englishmen. The Roman code, the law of nations, and the opinion of foreign civilians; are your perpetual theme ;—but who ever heard you mention magna charta or the bill of rights with

approbation or respect? By such treacherous arts, the noble simplicity and free spirit of our Saxon laws were first corrupted. The Norman conquest was not complete, until Norman lawyers had introduced their laws, and reduced slavery to a system.— This one leading principle directs your interpretation of the laws, and accounts for your treatment of juries. It is not in political questions only (for there the courtier might be forgiven) but let the cause be what it may, your understanding is equally on the rack, either to contract the power of the jury, or to mislead their judgment. For the truth of this assertion, I appeal to the doctrine you delivered in Lord Grosvenor's cause. An action for criminal conversation being brought by a peer against a prince of the blood, you were daring enough to tell the jury that, in fixing the damages, they were to pay no regard to the quality or fortune of the parties;—that it was a trial between A and B;—that they were to consider the offence in a moral light only, and give no greater damages to a peer of the realm, than to the meanest mechanic. I shall not attempt to refute a doctrine, which, if it was meant for law, carries falsehood and absurdity upon the face of it; but, if it was meant for a declaration of your political creed, is clear and consistent. Under an arbitrary government, all
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ranks and distinctions are confounded. The honour of a nobleman is no more considered than the reputation of a peasant, for, with different liveries, they are equally slaves.

Even in matters of private property, we see the same biases and inclination to depart from the decisions of your predecessors, which you certainly ought to receive as evidence of the common law. Instead of those certain, positive rules, by which the judgment of a court of law should invariably be determined, you have fondly introduced your own unsettled notions of equity and substantial justice. Decisions given upon such principles do not alarm the public so much as they ought, because the consequence and tendency of each particular instance is not observed or regarded. In the mean time the practice gains ground; the court of King's Bench becomes a court of equity, and the judge, instead of consulting strictly the law of the land, refers only to the wisdom of the court, and to the purity of his own conscience. The name of Mr. Justice Yates will naturally revive in your mind some of those emotions of fear and detestation, with which you always beheld him. That great lawyer, that honest man, saw your whole conduct in the light that I do. After years of ineffectual resistance to the pernicious principles introduced
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by your lordship, and uniformly supported by your *bumble friends* upon the bench, he determined to quit a court, whose proceedings and decisions he could neither assent to with honour, nor oppose with success.

The injustice done to an individual is sometimes of service to the public. Facts are apt to alarm us more than the most dangerous principles. The sufferings and firmness of a printer have roused the public attention. You knew and felt that your conduct would not bear a parliamentary inquiry, and you hoped to escape it by the meanest, the basest sacrifice of dignity and consistency, that ever was made by a great magistrate. Where was your firmness, where was that vindictive spirit, of which we have seen so many examples, when a man so inconsiderable as Bingley, could force you to confess, in the face of this country, that, for two years together, you had illegally deprived an English subject of his liberty, and that he had triumphed over you at last? Yet I own, my Lord, that your's is not an uncommon character. Women, and men like women, are timid, vindictive, and irresolute. Their passions counteract each other, and make the same creature at one moment hateful, at another contemptible. I fancy, my Lord, some time will elapse before you venture to
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commit another Englishman for refusing to answer interrogatories.

The doctrine you have constantly delivered, in cases of libel, is another powerful evidence of a settled plan to contract the legal power of juries, and to draw questions, inseparable from fact, within the *arbitrium* of the court. Here, my Lord, you have fortune of your side. When you invade the province of the jury, in matter of libel, you, in effect, attack the liberty of the press, and, with a single stroke, wound two of your greatest enemies at once.——In some instances you have succeeded, because jurymen are too often ignorant of their own rights, and too apt to be awed by the authority of a chief justice. In other criminal prosecutions, the malice of the design is confessedly as much the subject of consideration to a jury, as the certainty of the fact. If a different doctrine prevails in the case of libels, why should it not extend to *all* criminal cases?——Why not to capital offences? I see no reason (and I dare say you will agree with me that there is no good one) why the life of the subject should be better protected against you than his liberty or property. Why should you enjoy the full power of pillory, fine, and imprisonment, and not be indulged with hanging or transportation? With your lordship's
fertile

fertile genius and merciful disposition, I can conceive such an exercise of the power you have, as could hardly be aggravated by that which you have not.

But, my Lord, since you have laboured (and not unsuccessfully) to destroy the substance *of the trial*, why should you suffer the form of the *verdict* to remain? Why force twelve honest men, in palpable violation of their oaths, to pronounce their fellow subject a *guilty* man, when, almost at the same moment, you forbid their inquiring into the only circumstance, which, in the eye of law and reason, constitutes guilt—the malignity or innocence of his intentions?—But I understand your Lordship.—If you could succeed in making the trial by jury useless and ridiculous, you might then with greater safety introduce a bill into parliament for enlarging the jurisdiction of the court, and extending your favourite trial by interrogatories to every question, in which the life or liberty of an Englishman is concerned.

Your charge to the jury, in the prosecution against Almon and Woodfall, contradicts the highest legal authorities, as well as the plainest dictates of reason. In Miller's cause, and still more expressly in that of Baldwin, you have proceeded a step farther, and grossly contradicted yourself.—

You

• You may know, perhaps, though I do not mean to insult you by an appeal to your experience, that the language of truth is uniform and consistent. To depart from it safely, requires memory and discretion. In the two last trials, your charge to the jury began, as usual, with assuring them that they had nothing to do with the law,—that they were to find the bare fact, and not concern themselves about the legal inferences drawn from it, or the degree of the defendant's guilt.—Thus far you were consistent with your former practice. But how will you account for the conclusion? You told the jury that, “if, after all, they would take
 “upon themselves to determine the law, *they might*
 “do it, but they must be very sure that they de-
 “termined according to law, for it touched their
 “consciences, and they acted at their peril.”—If I understand your first proposition, you meant to affirm, that the jury were not competent judges of the law in the criminal case of a libel;—that it did not fall within *their* jurisdiction; and that, with respect to *them*, the malice or innocence of the defendant's intentions would be a question *coram non judice*.—But the second proposition clears away your own difficulties, and restores the jury to all their judicial capacities. You make the competence of the Court to depend upon the legality
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of the decision. In the first instance you deny the power absolutely. In the second, you admit the power, provided it be legally exercised. Now, my Lord, without pretending to reconcile the distinctions of Westminster-hall with the simple information of common sense, or the integrity of fair argument, I shall be understood by your Lordship when I assert that, if a jury or any other court of judicature (for jurors are judges) have no right to entertain a cause, or question of law, it signifies nothing whether their decision be or be not according to law. Their decision is in itself a mere nullity;—the parties are not bound to submit to it; and, if the jury run any risque of punishment, it is not for pronouncing a corrupt or illegal verdict, but for the illegality of meddling with a point on which they have no legal authority to decide.

I cannot quit this subject without reminding your Lordship of the name of Mr. Benson. Without offering any legal objection, you ordered a special jurymen to be set aside in a cause where the King was prosecutor. The novelty of the fact required explanation. Will you condescend to tell the world by what law or custom you were authorised to make a peremptory challenge of a jurymen? The parties indeed have this power, and perhaps your Lordship, having accustomed your-

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self to unite the characters of judge and party, may claim it in virtue of the new capacity you have assumed, and profit by your own wrong. The time, within which you might have been punished for this daring attempt to pack a jury, is, I fear, elapsed; but no length of time shall erase the record of it.

The mischiefs you have done this country are not confined to your interpretation of the laws. You are a minister, my Lord, and, as such, have long been consulted. Let us candidly examine what use you have made of your ministerial influence. I will not descend to little matters, but come at once to those important points, on which your resolution was waited for, on which the expectation of your opinion kept a great part of the nation in suspense.—A constitutional question arises upon a declaration of the law of parliament, by which the freedom of election, and the birth-right of the subject, were supposed to have been invaded.—The King's servants are accused of violating the constitution.—The nation is in a ferment.—The ablest men of all parties engage in the question, and exert their utmost abilities in the discussion of it.—What part has the honest Lord Mansfield acted? As an eminent judge of the law, his opinion would have been respected.

—As

—As a peer, he had a right to demand an audience of his sovereign, and inform him that his ministers were pursuing unconstitutional measures.— Upon other occasions, my Lord, you have no difficulty in finding your way into the closet. The pretended neutrality of belonging to no party will not save your reputation. In questions merely political, an honest man may stand neuter. But the laws and constitution are the general property of the subject;—not to defend is to relinquish;—and who is there so senseless as to renounce his share in a common benefit, unless he hopes to profit by a new division of the spoil. As a lord of parliament you were repeatedly called upon to condemn or defend the new law declared by the house of Commons. You affected to have scruples, and every expedient was attempted to remove them.— The question was proposed, and urged to you in a thousand different shapes,——Your prudence still supplied you with evasion;—— your resolution was invincible. For my own part, I am not anxious to penetrate this solemn secret. I care not to whose wisdom it is intrusted, nor how soon you carry it with you to your grave. You have betrayed your opinion by the very care you have taken to conceal it. It is not from Lord Mansfield that we expect any reserve in declaring his
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real sentiments in favour of government, or in opposition to the people; nor is it difficult to account for the motions of a timid, dishonest heart, which neither has virtue enough to acknowledge truth, nor courage to contradict it.—Yet you continue to support an administration which you know is universally odious, and which, on some occasions, you yourself speak of with contempt. You would fain be thought to take no share in government, while, in reality, you are the main spring of the machine.—Here too we trace the *little*, prudential policy of a Scotchman.—Instead of acting that open, generous part, which becomes your rank and station, you meanly skulk into the closet, and give your sovereign such advice as you have not spirit to avow or defend. You secretly ingross the power, while you decline the title of minister; and though you dare not be Chancellor, you know how to secure the emoluments of the office.—Are the seals to be for ever in commission, that you may enjoy five thousand pounds a year?—I beg pardon, my Lord;—your fears have interposed at last, and forced you to resign.—The odium of continuing Speaker of the House of Lords, upon such terms, was too formidable to be resisted. What a multitude of bad passions are forced to submit to a constitutional infirmity!

firmity! But though you have relinquished the salary, you still assume the rights of a minister.—Your conduct, it seems, must be defended in parliament.—For what other purpose is your wretched friend, that miserable serjeant, posted to the House of Commons? Is it in the abilities of Mr. Leigh to defend the great Lord Mansfield?—Or is he only the Punch of the Puppet-show, to speak as he is prompted by the CHIEF JUGGLER behind the curtain?

In public affairs, my Lord, cunning, let it be ever so well wrought, will not conduct a man honourably through life. Like bad money, it may be current for a time, but it will soon be cried down. It cannot consist with a liberal spirit, tho' it be sometimes united with extraordinary qualifications. When I acknowledge your abilities, you may believe I am sincere. I feel for human nature when I see a man, so gifted as you are, descend to such vile practice.—Yet do not suffer your vanity to console you too soon. Believe me, my good Lord, you are not admired in the same degree in which you are detested. It is only the partiality of your friends that balances the defects of your heart with the superiority of your understanding. No learned man, even among your own tribe, thinks you qualified to preside in
a court

a court of common law. Yet it is confessed that, under *Justinian*, you might have made an incompatible *Prator*.—It is remarkable enough, but I hope not ominous, that the laws you understand best, and the judges you affect to admire most, flourished in the decline of a great empire, and are supposed to have contributed to its fall.

Here, my Lord, it may be proper for us to pause together.—It is not for my own sake that I wish you to consider the delicacy of your situation. Beware how you indulge the first emotions of your resentment. This paper is delivered to the world, and cannot be recalled. The persecution of an innocent printer cannot alter facts, nor refute arguments.—Do not furnish me with farther materials against yourself.—An honest man, like the true religion, appeals to the understanding, or modestly confides in the internal evidence of his conscience. The impostor employs force instead of argument, imposes silence where he cannot convince, and propagates his character by the sword.

J U N I U S.

[Faint, mostly illegible text in a single column, possibly a list or a long letter. Some words like "and", "the", "of", "in" are visible.]

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L E T T E R XXXIX.

S I R,

January 30. 1771.

IF we recollect in what manner the king's friends have been constantly employed, we shall have no reason to be surpris'd at any condition of disgrace, to which the once respected name of Englishman may be degraded. His majesty has no cares, but such as concern the laws and constitution of this country. In his royal breast there is no room left for resentment, no place for hostile sentiments against the natural enemies of his crown. The system of government is uniform. — Violence and oppression at home can only be supported by treachery and submission abroad, when the civil rights of the people are daringly invaded on one side, what have we to expect, but that their political rights should be deserted and betrayed, in the same proportion, on the other? The plan of domestic policy, which has been invariably pursued, from the moment of his present majesty's accession,

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engrosses

engrosses all the attention of his servants. They know that the security of their places depends upon their maintaining, at any hazard, the secret system of the closet. A foreign war might embarrass, an unfavourable event might ruin the minister, and defeat the deep laid scheme of policy, to which he and his associates owe their employments. Rather than suffer the execution of that scheme to be delayed or interrupted, the King has been advised to make a public surrender, a solemn sacrifice, in the face of all Europe, not only of the interests of his subjects, but of his own personal reputation, and of the dignity of that crown, which his predecessors have worn with honour, these are strong terms, Sir, but they are supported by fact and argument.

The King of Great Britain had been, for some years in possession of an island, to which, as the ministry themselves have repeatedly asserted, the Spaniards had no claim of right. The importance of the place is not in question. If it were, a better judgment might be formed of it from the opinions of lord Anson and lord Egmont, and from the anxiety of the Spaniards, than from any fallacious insinuations thrown out by men, whose interest it is to undervalue that property which they are determined to relinquish. The pretensions of Spain
were

were a subject of negotiation between the two courts. They had been discussed, but not admitted. The king of Spain, in these circumstances, bids adieu to amicable negotiation, and appeals directly to the sword. The expedition against Port Egmont does not appear to have been a sudden ill-concerted enterprize. It seems to have been conducted not only with the usual military precautions, but in all the forms and ceremonies of war. A frigate was first employed to examine the strength of the place. A message was then sent, demanding immediate possession, in the Catholic King's name, and ordering our people to depart. At last a military force appears, and compels the garrison to surrender. A formal capitulation ensues, and his Majesty's ship, which might at least have been permitted to bring home his troops immediately is detained in port twenty days, and her rudder forcibly taken away. This train of facts carries no appearance of the rashness or violence of a Spanish governor. On the contrary, the whole plan seems to have been formed and executed, in consequence of deliberate order, and a regular instruction from the Spanish court. Mr. Bucarelli is not a pirate, nor has he been treated as such by those who employed him. I feel for the honour of a gentleman, when I affirm
that

that our king owes him a signal reparation. — Where will the humiliation of this country end! — A King of Great Britain, not contented with placing himself upon a level with a Spanish governor, descends so low as to do a notorious injustice to that governor. As a salvo for his own reputation, he has been advised to traduce the character of a brave officer, and to treat him as a common robber, when he knew with certainty that Mr. Bucarrelli had acted in obedience to his orders, and had done no more than his duty. Thus it happens in private life, with a man who has no spirit nor sense of honour.—One of his equals orders a servant to strike him.—Instead of returning the blow to the master, his courage is contented with throwing an aspersions, equally false and public, upon the character of the servant.

This short recapitulation was necessary to introduce the consideration of his majesty's speech, and the subsequent measures of government. The excessive caution, with which the speech was drawn up, had impressed upon me an early conviction, that no serious resentment was thought of, and that the conclusion of the business, whenever it happened, must in some degree be dishonourable to England. There appears, through the whole speech, a guard
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and reserve in the choice of expression, which shews how careful the ministry were not to embarrass their future projects by any firm or spirited declaration from the the throne. When all hopes of peace are lost, his majesty tells his parliament, that he is preparing, — not for barbarous war, but (with all his mother's softness,) *for a different situation*.—It would indeed be happy for this country, if the lady I speak of were obliged to prepare herself for a different situation.—An open hostility, authorised by the Catholic King, is called *an act of a governor*. This act, to avoid the mention of a regular siege and surrender, passes under the piratical description of *seizing by force*; and the thing taken is described, not as a part of the King's territory or proper dominion, but merely as a *possession*, a word expressly chosen in contradistinction to and exclusion of the idea of *right*, and to prepare us for a future surrender both of the right and of the possession. Yet this speech, Sir, cautious and equivocal as it is, cannot, by any sophistry, be accommodated to the measures, which have since been adapted. It seemed to promise, that, whatever might be given up by secret stipulation, some care would be taken to save appearances to the public. The event shews us, that to depart, in the minutest article, from the nicety
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and strictness of punctilio, is as dangerous to national honour, as to female virtue. The woman who admits of one familiarity, seldom knows where to stop or what to refuse; and when the counsels of a great country give way in a single instance,—when once they are inclined to submission, every step accelerates the rapidity of the descent. The ministry themselves, when they framed the speech, did not foresee, that they should ever accede to such an accommodation, as they have since advised their master to accept of.

The king says, “The honour of my crown and the rights of my people are deeply affected”. The Spaniard, in his reply, says, “I give you back possession but I adhere to my claim of prior right, reserving the assertion of it for a more favourable opportunity”.

The speech says, “I made an immediate demand of satisfaction, and, if that fails, I am prepared to do myself justice”. This immediate demand must have been sent to Madrid on the 12th of September, or in a few days after. It was certainly refused, or evaded, and the King *has not* done himself justice.—When the first magistrate speaks to the nation, some care should be taken of his apparent veracity.

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The speech proceeds to say, " I shall not discontinue my preparations until I have received proper reparation for the injury". If this assurance may be relied on, what an enormous expence is entailed, *sine die*, upon this unhappy country ! Restitution of a possession and reparation of an injury are as different in substance, as they are in language. The very act of restitution may contain, as in this instance it palpably does, a shameful aggravation of the injury. A man of spirit does not measure the degree of an injury by the mere positive damage he has sustained. He considers the principle on which it is founded ; — he resents the superiority asserted over him ; and rejects with indignation the claim of right, which his adversary endeavours to establish, and would force him to acknowledge.

The motives, on which the Catholic King makes restitution, are, if possible, more insolent and disgraceful to our Sovereign, than even the declaratory condition annexed to it. After taking four months to consider, whether the expedition was undertaken by his own orders or not, he condescends to disavow the enterprize and to restore the island, — not from any regard to justice ; — not from any regard he bears to his Britannic Majesty, but merely

merely "from the persuasion, in which he is, of
 "the pacific sentiments of the King of Great-
 "Britain."—At this rate, if our King had dis-
 covered the spirit of a man,—if he had made a pe-
 remptory demand of satisfaction, the King of Spain
 would have given him a peremptory refusal. But
 why this unseasonable, this ridiculous mention of
 the King of Great-Britain's pacific intentions?
 Have they ever been in question? Was *He* the
 aggressor? Does he attack foreign powers without
 provocation? Does he even resist, when he is in-
 sulted? No, Sir, if any ideas of strife or hostility,
 have entered his royal mind, they have a very dif-
 ferent direction. The enemies of England have
 nothing to fear from them.

After all, Sir, to what kind of disavowal has the
 king of Spain at last consented? Supposing it made
 in proper time, it should have been accompanied
 with instant restitution; and, if Mr. Bucarelli
 acted without orders, he deserved death. Now,
 Sir, instead of immediate restitution, we have a four
 months negotiation, and the officer, whose act is
 disavowed, returns to court, and is loaded with ho-
 nours.

If the actual situation of Europe be considered,
 the treachery of the King's servants, particularly of

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Lord North, who takes the whole upon himself, will appear in the strongest colours of aggravation. Our allies were masters of the Mediterranean. The King of France's present aversion from war, and the distraction of his affairs are notorious. He is now in a state of war with his people. In vain did the Catholic King solicit him to take part in the quarrel against us. His finances were in the last disorder, and it was probable that his troops might find sufficient employment at home. In these circumstances, we might have dictated the law to Spain. There are no terms, to which she might not have been compelled to submit. At the worst, a war with Spain alone carries the fairest promise of advantage. One good effect at least would have been immediately produced by it. The desertion of France would have irritated her ally, and in all probability have dissolved the family compact. The scene is now fatally changed. The advantage is thrown away ;—the most favourable opportunity is lost.—Hereafter we shall know the value of it. When the French King is reconciled to his subjects ;—when Spain has compleated her preparations ;—when the collected strength of the house of Bourbon attacks us at once, the King himself will be able to determine upon the wisdom or imprudence of his present conduct. As far as the

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probability

probability of argument extends, we may safely pronounce, that a conjuncture, which threatens the very being of this country, has been wilfully prepared and forwarded by our own ministry. How far the people may be animated to resistance under the present administration, I know not; but this I know with certainty, that, under the present administration, or if any thing like it should continue, it is of very little moment whether we are a conquered nation or not.

Having travelled thus far in the high road of matter of fact, I may now be permitted to wander a little into the field of imagination. Let us banish from our minds the persuasion that these events have really happened in the reign of the best of princes. Let us consider them as nothing more than the materials of a fable, in which we may conceive the Sovereign of some other country to be concerned. I mean to violate all the laws of probability, when I suppose that this imaginary King, after having voluntarily disgraced himself in the eyes of his subjects, might return to a sense of his dishonour;—that he might perceive the snare laid for him by his ministers, and feel a spark of shame kindling in his breast.—The part he must then be obliged to act, would overwhelm him with confusion. To this parliament he must say, “ I called
“ you

“ you together to receive your advice, and have
 “ never asked your opinion.”—To the merchant,—
 “ I have distressed your commerce ; I have dragged
 “ your seamen out of your ships, I have loaded
 “ you with a grievous weight of Insurances.”—To
 the landholder,—“ I told you war was too proba-
 “ ble, when I was determined to submit to any
 “ terms of accommodation ;—I extorted new
 “ taxes from you, before it was possible they could
 “ be wanted, and am now unable to account for
 “ the application of them.”—To the public credi-
 tor,—“ I have delivered up your fortunes a prey
 “ to foreigners and to the vilest of your fellow
 “ subjects.” Perhaps this repenting Prince might
 conclude with one general acknowledgment to them
 all.—“ I have involved every rank of my subjects
 “ in anxiety and distress, and have nothing to offer
 “ you in return, but the certainty of national disho-
 “ nour, an armed truce, and peace without security.”

If these accounts were settled, there would still
 remain an apology to be made to his navy and to
 his army. To the first he would say, “ You were
 “ once the terror of the world. But go back to
 “ your harbours. A man dishonoured, as I am,
 “ has no use for your service.” It is not proba-
 ble that he would appear again before his soldiers,
 even in the pacific ceremony of a review. But
 wherever

wherever he appeared, the humiliating confession would be extorted from him. "I have received a blow, and had not spirit to resent it. I demanded satisfaction, and have accepted a declaration, in which the right to strike me again is asserted and confirmed." His countenance at least would speak this language, and even his guards would blush for him.

But to return to our argument.—The ministry, it seems, are labouring to draw a line of distinction between the honour of the crown, and the rights of the people. This new idea has yet been only started in discourse, for in effect both objects have been equally sacrificed. I neither understand the distinction, nor what use the ministry propose to make of it. The King's honour is that of his people. *Their* real honour and real interest are the same.—I am not contending for a vain punctilio. A clear, unblemished character comprehends not only the integrity that will not offer, but the spirit that will not submit to an injury; and whether it belongs to an individual or to a community, it is the foundation of peace, of independance, and of safety. Private credit is wealth;—public honour is security.—The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports his flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth.

J U N I U S

LETTER XL.

April 20th 1771.

SIR,

TO write for profit without taxing the press;
 —to write for fame and to be unknown;—
 to support the intrigues of faction, and to be dis-
 owned, as a dangerous auxiliary, by every party
 in the kingdom, are contradictions, which the
 minister must reconcile, before I forfeit my credit
 with the public. I may quit the service, but it
 would be absurd to suspect me of desertion. The
 reputation of these papers is an honourable pledge
 for my attachment to the people. To sacrifice a
 respected character, and to renounce the esteem of
 society, requires more than Mr. Wedderburne's
 resolution; and though in him it was rather a pro-
 fession than a desertion of his principles [I speak
 tenderly of this gentleman, for when treachery is
 in question, I think we should make allowances
 for a Scotchman] yet we have seen him in the
 House of Commons overwhelmed with confusion,
 and almost bereft of his faculties.—But in truth,
 sir, I have left no room for an accommodation with
 the piety of St. James's. My offences are not be
 redeemed by recantation or repentance. On one

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side,

side, our warmest patriots would disclaim me as a burthen to their honest ambition. On the other, the vilest prostitution, if *Junius* could descend to it, would lose its natural merit and influence in the cabinet, and treachery be no longer a recommendation to the royal favour.

The persons, who, till within these few years, have been most distinguished by their zeal for high church and prerogative, are now, it seems, the great assertors of the privileges of the House of Commons. This sudden alteration of their sentiments or language carries with it a suspicious appearance. When I hear the undefined privileges of the popular branch of the legislature exalted by tories and jacobites, at the expence of those strict rights, which are known to the subject and limited by the laws, I cannot but suspect, that some mischievous scheme is in agitation, to destroy both law and privilege, by opposing them to each other. They who have uniformly denied the power of the whole legislature to alter the descent of the crown, and whose ancestors, in rebellion against his Majesty's family, have defended that doctrine at the hazard of their lives, now tell us that privilege of parliament is the only rule of right, and the chief security of the public liberty.—I fear, sir, that,
while

while forms remain, there has been some material change in the substance of our constitution. The opinions of these men were too absurd to be easily renounced. Liberal minds are open to conviction—Liberal doctrines are capable of improvement.—There are proselytes from atheism, but none from superstition.—If their present professions were sincere, I think they could not but be highly offended at seeing a question, concerning parliamentary privilege, unnecessarily started at a season so unfavourable to the House of Commons, and by so very mean and insignificant a person as the minor *Onslow*. They knew that the present House of Commons, having commenced hostilities with the people, and degraded the authority of the laws by their own example, were likely enough to be resisted *per fas et nefas*. If they were really friends to privilege, they would have thought the question of right too dangerous to be hazarded at this season, and, without the formality of a convention, would have left it undecided.

I have been silent hitherto, tho' not from that shameful indifference about the interests of society, which too many of us profess, and call moderation. I confess, sir, that I felt the prejudices of my education, in favour of a House of Commons,

still hanging about me. I thought that a question, between law and privilege, could never be brought to a formal decision, without inconvenience to the public service, or a manifest diminution of legal liberty, and ought therefore to be carefully avoided: And when I saw that the violence of the House of Commons had carried them too far to retreat, I determined not to deliver a hasty opinion upon a matter of so much delicacy and importance.

The state of things is much altered in this country, since it was necessary to protect our representatives against the direct power of the crown. We have nothing to apprehend from prerogative, but every thing from undue influence. Formerly it was the interest of the people, that the privileges of parliament should be left unlimited and undefined. At present it is not only their interest, but I hold it to be essentially necessary to the preservation of the constitution, that the privileges of parliament should be strictly ascertained, and be confined within the narrowest bounds the nature of their institution will admit of. Upon the same principle, on which I would have resisted prerogative in the last century, I now resist privilege. It is indifferent to me, whether the crown, by its own immediate act, imposes new, and dispenses with

with old laws, or whether the same arbitrary power produces the same effects through the medium of the House of Commons. We trusted our representatives with privileges for their own defence and ours. We cannot hinder their desertion, but we can prevent their carrying over their arms to the service of the enemy.—It will be said, that I begin with endeavouring to reduce the argument concerning privilege to a mere question of convenience;—that I deny at one moment what I allow at another; and that to resist the power of a prostituted House of Commons may establish a precedent injurious to all future parliaments.—To this I answer generally, that human affairs are in no instance governed by strict positive right. If change of circumstances were to have no weight in directing our conduct and opinions, the mutual intercourse of mankind would be nothing more than a contention between positive and equitable right. Society would be a state of war, and law itself would be injustice. On this general ground it is highly reasonable, that the degree of our submission to privileges, which have never been defined by any positive law, should be considered as a question of convenience, and proportioned to the confidence we repose in the integrity of our representatives.

sentatives. As to the injury we may do to any future and more respectable House of Commons, I own I am not now sanguine enough to expect a more plentiful harvest of parliamentary virtue in one year than another. Our political climate is severely altered; and without dwelling upon the depravity of modern times, I think no reasonable man will expect that, as human nature is constituted, the enormous influence of the crown should cease to prevail over the virtue of individuals. The mischief lies too deep to be cured by any remedy, less than some great convulsion, which may either carry back the constitution to its original principles, or utterly destroy it. I do not doubt that, in the first session after the next election, some popular measures may be adopted. The present House of Commons have injured themselves by a too early and public profession of their principles; and if a strain of prostitution, which had no example, were within the reach of emulation, it might be imprudent to hazard the experiment too soon. But after all, sir, it is very immaterial whether a House of Commons shall preserve their virtue for a week, a month, or a year. The influence, which makes a septennial parliament dependent upon the pleasure of the crown,

crown, has a permanent operation, and cannot fail of success.—My premises, I know, will be denied in argument, but every man's conscience tells him they are true. It remains then to be considered, whether it be for the interest of the people that privilege of parliament (which, in respect to the purposes for which it has hitherto been acquiesced under, is merely nominal) should be contracted within some certain limits, or whether the subject shall be left at the mercy of a power, arbitrary upon the face of it, and notoriously under the direction of the crown.

I do not mean to decline the question of *Right*. On the contrary, sir, I join issue with the advocates for privilege, and affirm, that, “ excepting
 “ the cases, wherein the House of Commons are
 “ a court of judicature, (to which, from the nature
 “ of their office, a coercive power must belong)
 “ and excepting such contempts as immediately
 “ interrupt their proceedings, they have no legal
 “ authority to imprison any man for any supposed
 “ violation of privilege whatsoever.”—It is not pretended, that privilege, as now claimed, has ever been defined or confirmed by statute; neither can it be said, with any colour of truth, to be a part of the common law of England, which had
 grown

grown into prescription long before we knew any thing of the existence of a House of Commons. As for the law of parliament, it is only another name for the privilege in question; and since the power of creating new privileges has been formerly renounced by both houses,—since there is no code, in which we can study the law of parliament, we have but one way left to make ourselves acquainted with it;—that is, to compare the nature of the institution of a House of Commons with the facts upon record. To establish a claim of privilege in either house, and to distinguish original right from an usurpation, it must appear that it is indispensably necessary for the performance of the duty they are employed in, and also that it has been uniformly allowed. From the first part of this description it follows clearly, that whatever privilege does of right belong to the present House of Commons, did equally belong to the first assembly of their predecessors, was as completely vested in them, and might have been exercised in the same extent. From the second we must infer, that privileges, which, for several centuries, were not only never allowed, but never even claimed by the House of Commons, must be founded upon usurpation. The constitutional duties of a House of Commons

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are not very complicated, nor mysterious. They are to propose or assent to wholesome laws for the benefit of the nation. They are to grant the necessary aids to the King—petition for the redress of grievances, and prosecute treason or high crimes against the state. If unlimited privilege be necessary to the performance of these duties, we have reason to conclude, that, for many centuries after the institution of the House of Commons, they were never performed. I am not bound to prove a negative, but I appeal to the English history when I affirm, that, with the exceptions already stated, (which yet I might safely relinquish) there is no precedent, from the year 1265 to the death of Queen Elizabeth, of the House of Commons having imprisoned any man (not a member of their House) for contempt or breach of privilege. In the most flagrant cases, and when their acknowledged privileges were most grossly violated, the *poor Commons*, as they then stiled themselves, never took the power of punishment into their own hands. They either sought redress by petition to the King, or, what is more remarkable, applied for justice to the House of Lords; and when satisfaction was denied them, or delayed, their only remedy was, to refuse proceeding upon the King's business.

business. So little conception had our ancestors of the monstrous doctrines now maintained concerning privilege, that, in the reign of Elizabeth, even liberty of speech, the vital principal of a deliberative assembly, was restrained, by the queen's authority, to a simple *aye* or *no*; and this restriction, though imposed upon three successive parliaments*, was never once disputed by the House of Commons.

I know there are many precedents of arbitrary commitments for contempt; but, besides that they are of too modern a date to warrant a presumption that such a power was originally vested in the House of Commons—*fact* alone does not constitute *right*. If it does, general warrants were lawful. An ordinance of the two houses has a force equal to law; and the criminal jurisdiction assumed by the Commons in 1621, in the case of Edward Loyd, is a good precedent, to warrant the like proceedings against any man, who shall unadvisedly mention the folly of a king, or the ambition of a princess. The truth is, sir, that the greatest and most exceptionable part of the privileges now contended for, were introduced and
asserted

* In the years 1593—1597—and 1601.

asserted by a House of Commons which abolished both monarchy and peerage, and whose proceedings, although they ended in one glorious act of substantial justice, could no way be reconciled to the forms of the Constitution. Their successors profited by the example, and confirmed their power by making a moderate or a popular use of it. Thus it grew by degrees, from a notorious innovation at one period, to be tacitly admitted as the privilege of parliament at another.

If however it could be proved, from considerations of necessity or convenience, that an unlimited power of commitment ought to be intrusted to the House of Commons, and that *in fact* they have exercised it without opposition, still, in contemplation of law, the presumption is strongly against them. It is a leading maxim of the laws of England, (and, without it, all laws are nugatory) that there is no right without a remedy, nor any legal power without a legal course to carry it into effect. Let the power, now in question, be tried by this rule.—The Speaker issues his warrant of attachment. The party attached either resists force with force, or appeals to a magistrate, who declares the warrant illegal, and discharges the prisoner.—Does the law provide no legal means for enforcing

a legal warrant? Is there no regular proceeding pointed out in our law books to assert and vindicate the authority of so high a court as the House of Commons? The question is answered directly by the fact.—Their unlawful commands are resisted, and they have no remedy. The imprisonment of their own members is revenge indeed; but it is no assertion of the privilege they contend for. Their whole proceeding stops, and there they stand, ashamed to retreat, and unable to advance. Sir, these ignorant men should be informed, that the execution of the laws of England is not left in this uncertain, defenceless condition. If the process of the Courts of Westminster shall be resisted, they have a direct course, sufficient to enforce submission. The court of king's bench commands the sheriff to raise the *posse comitatus*. The courts of chancery and exchequer issue a writ of rebellion, which must also be supported, if necessary, by the power of the county.—To whom will our honest representatives direct *their* writ of rebellion? The guards, I doubt not are willing to be employed, but they know nothing of the doctrine of writs, and may think it necessary to wait for a letter from Lord Barrington.

It may now be objected to me, that my arguments prove too much; for that certainly there may be instances of contempt and insult to the House of Commons, which do not fall within my own exceptions, yet in regard to the dignity of the House, ought not to pass unpunished. Be it so.

—The courts of criminal jurisdiction are open to prosecutions, which the Attorney-General may commence by information or indictment. A libel, tending to asperse or vilify the House of Commons, or any of their members, may be as severely punished in the court of king's bench, as a libel upon the King. Mr. De Grey thought so, when he drew up the information upon my letter to his Majesty, or he had no meaning in charging it to be a scandalous libel upon the House of Commons. In *my* opinion, they would consult their real dignity much better, by appealing to the laws when they are offended, than by violating the first principle of natural justice, which forbids us to be judges, when we are parties to the cause.

I do not mean to pursue them through the remainder of their proceedings. In their first resolutions, it is possible they might have been deceived by ill-considered precedents. For the rest

there

there is no colour of palliation or excuse. They have advised the King to resume a power of dispensing with the laws by royal proclamation ; and kings, we see, are ready enough to follow such advice.—By mere violence, and without the shadow of right, they have expunged the record of a judicial proceeding.—Nothing remained, but to attribute to their own vote a power of stopping the whole distribution of criminal and civil justice.

The public virtues of the chief magistrate have long since ceased to be in question. But it is said that he has private good qualities, and I myself have been ready to acknowledge them. They are now brought to the test. If he loves his people, he will dissolve a parliament, which they can never confide in or respect.—If he has any regard for his own honour, he will disdain to be any longer connected with such abandoned prostitution. But if it were conceivable, that a king of this country had lost all sense of personal honour, and all concern for the welfare of his subjects, I confess, sir, I should be contented to renounce the forms of the constitution once more, if there were no other way to obtain substantial justice for the people.

JUNIUS

LETTER XLI.

*To his Grace the Duke of GRAFTON.**June 22d, 1771.*

MY LORD,

THE profound respect I bear to the gracious prince, who governs this country with no less honour to himself than satisfaction to his subjects, and who restores you to your rank under his standard, will save you from a multitude of reproaches. The attention I should have paid to your failings is involuntarily attracted to the hand that rewards them, and though I am not so partial to the royal judgment, as to affirm, that the favour of a king can remove mountains of infamy, it serves to lessen at least, for undoubtedly it divides the burthen. While I remember how much is due to *his* sacred character, I cannot with any decent appearance of propriety, call you the meanest and the basest fellow in the kingdom. I protest, my lord, I do not think you so. You will have a dangerous rival, in that kind of fame to which you have hitherto so happily directed your ambition, as long as there is one man living, who thinks you worthy of his confidence, and fit to be trusted with any share in his government. I confess you have

great intrinsic merit ; but take care you do not value it too highly. Consider how much of it would have been lost to the world if the king had not graciously affixed his stamp, and given it currency among his subjects. If it be true that a virtuous man, struggling with adversity, be a scene worthy of the gods, the glorious contention, between you and the best of princes, deserves an audience equally respectable. I think I already see other gods rising from the earth to behold it.

But this language is too mild for the occasion. The king is determined, that your abilities shall not be lost to society. The perpetration and description of new crimes will find employment for us both. My lord, if the persons who have been loudest in their professions of patriotism, had done their duty to the public with the same zeal and perseverance that I did, I will not assert that government would have recovered its dignity, but at least our gracious sovereign must have spared his subjects this last insult, which, if there be any feeling left among us, they will resent more than even the real injuries they received from every measure of your grace's administration. In vain would he have looked round him for another character so consummate as yours. Lord Mansfield shrinks from his principles ;—his ideas of government perhaps go farther than your own,

but

but his heart disgraces the theory of his understanding ;—Charles Fox is yet in blossom ; and as for Mr. Wedderburne, there is something about him, which even treachery cannot trust. For the present therefore, the best of princes must have contented himself with lord Sandwich.—You would long since have received your final dismissal and reward ; and I, my lord, who do not esteem you the more for the high office you possess, would willingly have followed you to your retirement. There is surely something singularly benevolent in the character of our sovereign. From the moment he ascended the throne, there is no crime, of which human nature is capable, (and I call upon the recorder to witness it,) that has not appeared venial in his sight. With any other prince, the shameful desertion of him, in the midst of that distress, which you alone had created,—in the very crisis of danger, when he fancied he saw the throne already surrounded by men of virtue and abilities, would have outweighed the memory of all your former services. But his majesty is full of justice, and understands the doctrine of compensations. He remembers with gratitude how soon you had accommodated your morals to the necessities of his service ;—how chearfully you had abandoned the engagements of private friendship, and renounced
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the most solemn professions to the public. The sacrifice of lord Chatham was not lost upon him. Even the cowardice and perfidy of deserting him may have done you no disservice in his esteem. The instance was painful, but the principle might please.

You did not neglect the magistrate, while you flattered the *man*. The expulsion of Mr Wilkes predetermined in the cabinet ;—the power of depriving the subject of his birth-right attributed to a resolution of one branch of the legislature ;—the constitution impudently invaded by the House of Commons ;—the right of defending it treacherously renounced by the House of Lords :—These are the strokes, my lord, which, in the present reign recommend to office, and constitute a minister. They would have determined your sovereign's judgment, if they had made no impression upon his heart. We need not look for any other species of merit to account for his taking the earliest opportunity to recall you to his councils. Yet you have other merit in abundance.—Mr. Hine,—the Duke of Portland,—and Mr. Yorke.—Breach of trust, robbery, and murder. You would think it a compliment to your gallantry if I added rape to the catalogue ;—but the stile of your amours secures you from resistance. I know

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how well these several charges have been defended. In the first instance, the breach of trust is supposed to have been its own reward. Mr. Bradshaw affirms upon his honour, (and so may the gift of smiling never depart from him !) that you reserved no part of Mr. Hine's purchase-money for your own use, but that every shilling of it was scrupulously paid to governor Burgoyne.—Make haste, my lord ;—another patent, applied in time, may keep the OAKS in the family.—If not, Birnham wood, I fear, must come to the *Macaroni*.

The Duke of Portland was in life your earliest friend. In defence of his property he had nothing to plead, but equity against Sir James Lowther, and prescription against the crown. You felt for your friend ; *but the law must take its course*. Posterity will scarce believe that Lord Bute's son-in-law had barely interest enough at the Treasury to get his grant completed before the general election.

Enough has been said of that detestable transaction, which ended in the death of Mr. Yorke.—I cannot speak of it without horror and compassion. To excuse yourself, you publicly impeach your accomplice, and to *his* mind perhaps the accusation may be flattery. But in murder you are both principals. It was once a question of emulation, and if the event had not disappointed the immediate schemes

schemes of the closet, it might still have been a hopeful subject of jest and merriment between you.

This letter, my Lord, is only a preface to my future correspondence. The remainder of the summer shall be dedicated to your amusement. I mean now and then to relieve the severity of your morning studies, and to prepare you for the business of the day. Without pretending to more than Mr. Bradshaw's sincerity, you may rely upon my attachment, as long as you are in office.

Will your Grace forgive me, if I venture to express some anxiety for a man, whom I know you do not love? my Lord Weymouth has cowardice to plead, and a desertion of a later date than your own. You know the privy seal was intended for him; and if you consider the dignity of the post he deserted, you will hardly think it decent to quarter him upon Mr. Rigby. Yet he must have bread, my Lord;—or rather, he must have wine. If you deny him the cup, there will be no keeping him within the pale of the ministry.

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L E T T E R XLII.

To his Grace the Duke of GRAFTON.

July 9th 1771.

MY LORD,

THE Influence of your Grace's fortune still seems to preside over the treasury.—The Genius of Mr. Bradshaw inspires Mr. Robinson. How remarkable it is, (and I speak of it not as matter of reproach, but as something peculiar to your character) that you have never yet formed a friendship, which has not been fatal to the object of it, nor adopted a cause, to which, one way or other, you have not done mischief. Your attachment is infamy while it lasts, and, whichever way it turns, leaves ruin and disgrace behind it. The deluded girl, who yields to such a profligate, even while he is constant, forfeits her reputation as well as her innocence, and finds herself abandoned at last to misery and shame.—Thus it happened with the best of princes.—Poor Dingley too !—I protest I hardly know which of them we ought most to lament—the unhappy man, who sinks under the sense of his dishonour, or him who survives it. Characters so finished, are placed beyond the reach of panegyric. Death has fixed his seal upon Dingley, and you, my Lord, have set your mark upon the other.

The

The only letter I ever addressed to the King was so unkindly received, that I believe I shall never presume to trouble his Majesty, in that way, again. But my zeal for his service is superior to neglect, and like Mr. Wilkes's patriotism, thrives by persecution. Yet his Majesty is much addicted to useful reading, and, if I am not ill informed, has honoured the *Public Advertiser* with particular attention. I have endeavoured therefore, and not without success, (as perhaps you may remember) to furnish it with such interesting and edifying intelligence, as probably would not reach him through any other channel. The services you have done the nation,—your integrity in office, and signal fidelity to your approved good master, have been faithfully recorded. Nor have his own Virtues been intirely neglected. These letters, my Lord, are read in other countries and in other languages; and I think I may affirm without vanity, that the gracious character of the best of Princes is by this time not only perfectly known to his subjects, but tolerably well understood by the rest of Europe. In this respect alone, I have the advantage of Mr. Whitehead. His plan, I think, is too narrow. He seems to manufacture his verses for the sole use of the hero, who is supposed to be the subject of them, and, that his meaning may not be unlawfully

fully exported in foreign bottoms, sets all translation at defiance.

Your Grace's re-appointment to a seat in the Cabinet was announced to the public by the ominous return of Lord Bute to this country. When that noxious planet approaches England, he never fails to bring plague and pestilence along with him. The King already feels the malignant effect of your influence over his councils. Your former administration made Mr. Wilkes an Alderman of London, and representative of Middlesex. Your next appearance in office is marked with his election to the shrievalty. In whatever measure you are concerned, you are not only disappointed of success, but always contrive to make the Government of the best of Princes contemptible in his own eyes, and ridiculous to the whole world. Making all due allowance for the effect of the Minister's declared interposition, Mr. Robinson's activity, and Mr. Horne's new zeal in support of administration, we still want the genius of the Duke of Grafton to account for committing the whole interest of Government in the city, to the conduct of Mr. Harley. I will not bear hard upon your faithful friend and emissary Mr. Touchet, for I know the difficulties of his situation, and that a few lottery tickets are of use to his oeconomy. There is a proverb concerning persons in the pre-

dicament of this gentleman, which however cannot be strictly applied to him. *They commence dupes, and finish knaves.* Now Mr. Touchet's character is uniform. I am convinced that his sentiments never depended upon his circumstances, and that, in the most prosperous state of his fortune, he was always the very man he is at present.—But was there no other person of rank and consequence in the city, whom government could confide in, but a notorious Jacobite? Did you imagine that the whole body of the dissenters, that the whole whig-interest of London would attend at the levy, and submit to the directions of a notorious Jacobite? Was there no whig magistrate in the city, to whom the servants of George the third could intrust the management of a business so very interesting to their master, as the election of sheriffs? Is there no room at St. James's but for Scotchmen and Jacobites?—My Lord, I do not mean to question the sincerity of Mr. Harley's attachment to his Majesty's government. Since the commencement of the present reign, I have seen still greater contradictions reconciled. The principles of these worthy Jacobites are not so absurd, as they have been represented. Their ideas of divine right are not so much annexed to the person or family, as to the political character of the sovereign. Had there ever been an honest man among the *Stuarts*, his Majesty's present friends would

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would have been whigs upon principle. But the conversion of the best of princes has removed their scruples. They have forgiven him the sins of his Hanoverian ancestors, and acknowledge the hand of Providence in the descent of the crown upon the head of a true *Stuart*. In you, my Lord, they also behold, with a kind of predilection, which borders upon loyalty, the natural representative of that illustrious family. The mode of your descent from Charles the second is only a bar to your pretensions to the Crown, and no way interrupts the regularity of your succession to all the virtues of the *Stuarts*.

The unfortunate success of the Rev. Mr. Horne's endeavours, in support of the ministerial Nomination of sheriffs, will I fear obstruct his preferment. Permit me to recommend him to your Grace's protection. You will find him copiously gifted with those qualities of the heart, which usually direct you in the choice of your friendships. He too was Mr. Wilkes's friend, and as incapable as you are of the liberal resentment of a gentleman. No, my Lord;—it was the solitary, vindictive malice of a monk, brooding over the infirmities of his friend, until he thought they quickened into public life; and feasting, with a rancorous rapture upon the sordid catalogue of his distresses. Now let him go back to his cloister. The Church is a proper

proper retreat for him. In his principles he is already a bishop.

The mention of this man has moved me from my natural moderation. Let me return to your Grace. You are the pillow, upon which I am determined to rest all my resentments. What idea can the best of sovereigns form to himself of his own government ;—in what repute can he conceive that he stands with his people, when he sees, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that, whatever be the office, the suspicion of his favour is fatal to the candidate, and that, when the party he wishes well to has the fairest prospect of success, if his Royal inclination should unfortunately be discovered, it drops like an acid, and turns the election ? This event, among others, may perhaps contribute to open his Majesty's eyes to his real honour and interest. In spite of all your Grace's ingenuity, he may at last perceive the inconvenience of selecting, with such a curious felicity, every villain in the nation to fill the various departments of his government. Yet I should be sorry to confine him in the choice either of his footman or his friends.

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L E T T E R XLIII.

To J U N I U S.

July 15, 1771.

S I R,

FARCE, comedy, and tragedy,—Wilkes, Foote, and Junius, united at the same time against one poor parson, are fearful odds. The two former are only labouring in their vocation, and may equally plead in excuse that their aim is a livelihood. I admit the plea for the *second*; his is an honest calling, and my clothes were lawful game; but I cannot so readily approve Mr. Wilkes, or commend him for making patriotism a trade, and a fraudulent trade. But what shall I say to Junius, the grave, the solemn, the didactic? Ridicule, indeed, has been ridiculously called the test of truth; but surely to confess that you lose your *natural moderation* when mention is made of the man, does not promise much truth or justice when you speak of him yourself.

You charge me with “a new zeal in support
“of administration,” and with “Endeavours in

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“support

“ support of the ministerial nomination of sheriffs.” The reputation which your talents have deservedly gained to the signature of Junius, draws from me a reply, which I disdained to give to the anonymous lies of Mr. Wilkes. You make frequent use of the word *gentleman*; I only call myself a *man*, and desire no other distinction. If you are either, you are bound to make good your charges, or to confess that you have done me a hasty injustice upon no authority.

I put the matter fairly to issue.—I say, that so far from any “ new zeal in support of administration,” I am possessed with the utmost abhorrence of their measures; and that I have ever shewn myself, and am still ready, in any rational manner, to lay down all I have—my life, in opposition to those measures. I say, that I have not, and never have had, any communication or connexion of any kind, directly or indirectly with any courtier or ministerial man, or any of their adherents: that I never have received, or solicited, or expected, or desired, or do now hope for, any reward of any sort from any party or set of men in administration or opposition: I say, that I never used any “ endeavours in support of the “ ministerial nomination of sheriffs:” that I did

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not solicit any one liveryman for his vote for any one of the candidates, nor employ any other person to solicit: and that I did not write one single line or word in favour of Messrs. Plumbe and Kirkman, whom I understand to have been supported by the ministry.

You are bound to refute what I here advance, or to lose your credit for veracity: you must produce facts, surmise and general abuse, in however elegant language, ought not to pass for proofs. You have every advantage, and I have every disadvantage: you are unknown, I give my name: all parties, both in and out of administration, have their reasons (which I shall relate hereafter) for uniting in their wishes against me: and the popular prejudice is as strongly in your favour, as it is violent against the parson.

Singular as my present situation is, it is neither painful, nor was it unforeseen. He is not fit for public business who does not even at his entrance prepare his mind for such an event. Health, fortune, tranquillity, and private connexions I have sacrificed upon the altar of the public; and the only return I receive, because I will not concur to dupe and mislead a senseless multitude, is barely that they have not yet torn me in pieces.

That

That this has been the only return, is my pride,
and a source of more real satisfaction than ho-
nours or prosperity. I can practise before I am
old the lessons I learned in my youth: nor shall I
ever forget the words of my antient monitor,

“ 'Tis the last key-stone
“ That makes the arch: the rest, that there
“ were put,
“ Are nothing till that comes to bind and
“ shut.
“ Then stands it a triumphal mark! then men
“ Observe the Strength, the height, the why and
“ when
“ It was erected; and still walking under,
“ Meet some new matter to look up and
“ wonder!”

I am, S I R,

Your humble Servant,

JOHN HORNE;

L E T.

L E T T E R XLIV.

To the Reverend Mr. HORNE.

July 24, 1771.

S I R,

I Cannot descend to an altercation with you in the news-papers. But since I have attacked your character, and you complain of injustice, I think you have some right to an explanation. You defy me to prove, that you ever solicited a vote, or wrote a word in support of the ministerial aldermen. Sir, I did never suspect you of such gross folly. It would have been impossible for Mr. Horne to have solicited votes, and very difficult to have written for the news-papers in defence of that cause, without being detected and brought to shame. Neither do I pretend to any intelligence concerning you, or to know more of your conduct, than you yourself have thought proper to communicate to the public. It is from your own letters I conclude that you have sold yourself to the ministry; or, if that charge be too severe, and supposing it possible to be deceived by appearances so very strongly against you, what are your friends to say in your defence? Must they

they not confess, that to gratify your personal hatred to Mr. Wilkes, you sacrificed, as far as depended upon your interest and abilities, the cause of the country? I can make allowance for the violence of the passions, and if ever I should be convinced that you had no motive but to destroy Wilkes, I shall then be ready to do justice to your character, and to declare to the world that I despise you somewhat less than I do at present.—But, as a public man, I must for ever condemn you. You cannot but know—nay you dare not pretend to be ignorant, that the highest gratification, of which the most detestable in this nation is capable, would have been the defeat of Wilkes. I know that man much better than any of you. Nature intended him only for a good-humoured fool. A systematical education, with long practice, has made him a consummate hypocrite. Yet this man, to say nothing of his worthy ministers, you have most assiduously laboured to gratify. To exclude Wilkes, it was not necessary you should solicit votes for his opponents. We incline the balance as effectually by lessening the weight in one scale, as by increasing it in the other.

The mode of your attack upon Wilkes (though I am far from thinking meanly of your abilities) convinces me, that you either want judgment

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extremely, or that you are blinded by your resentment. You ought to have foreseen that the charges you urged against Wilkes could never do him any mischief. After all, when we expected discoveries highly interesting to the community, what a pitiful detail did it end in!—Some old cloaths,—a Welch poney—a French footman, and a hamper of claret. Indeed, Mr. Horne, the public should, and *will* forgive him his claret and his footmen, and even the ambition of making his brother chamberlain of London, as long as he stands forth against a ministry and parliament, who are doing every thing they can to inflame the country, and as long as he is a thorn in the king's side. You will not suspect me of setting up Wilkes for a perfect character. But the question to the public is, Where shall we find a man, who, with purer principles, will go the lengths, and run the hazards that he has done? The season calls for such a man, and he ought to be supported. What would have been the triumph of that odious hypocrite and his minions, if Wilkes had been defeated! It was not *your* fault, reverend sir, that he did not enjoy it compleatly.—But now I promise you, you have so little power to do mischief, that I much question whether the ministry will adhere to the promises they have made you. It will be in vain to say that *I* am a partizan of

Mr.

Mr. Wilkes, or personally *your* enemy. You will convince no man, for you do not believe it yourself. Yet, I confess, I am a little offended at the low rate, at which you seem to value my understanding. I beg, Mr. Horne, you will hereafter believe that I measure the integrity of men by their conduct, not by their professions. Such tales may entertain Mr. Oliver or your grandmother, but trust me they are thrown away upon Junius.

You say you are a *man*. Was it generous, was it manly, repeatedly to introduce into a newspaper, the name of a young lady, with whom you must heretofore have lived on terms of politeness and good humour?—but I have done with you. In *my* opinion, your credit is irrecoverably ruined. Mr. Townshend, I think, is nearly in the same predicament.—Poor Oliver has been shamefully duped by you. You have made him sacrifice all the honour he got by his imprisonment.—As for Mr. Sawbridge, whose character I really respect, I am astonished he does not see through your duplicity. Never was so base a design so poorly conducted.—This letter, you see, is not intended for the public, but if you think it will do you any service, you are at liberty to publish it.

July 17th.

J U N I U S.

E E T.

LETTER XLV.

To JUNIUS.

July 31st, 1771.

SIR,

YOU have disappointed me. When I told you that surmise and general abuse, in however elegant language, ought not to pass for proofs, I evidently hinted at the reply which I expected: but you have dropped your usual elegance, and seem willing to try what will be the effect of surmise and general abuse in very coarse language. Your answer to my letter (which I hope was cool and temperate and modest) has convinced me that my idea of a *man* is much superior to yours of a *gentleman*. Of your former letters I have always said *Materiem superabat opus*: I do not think so of the present; the principles are more detestable than the expressions are mean and illiberal. I am contented that all those who adopt the one should for ever load me with the other.

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I appeal to the common-sense of the public, to which I have ever directed my self: I believe they have it; though I am sometimes half-inclined to suspect that Mr. Wilkes has formed a truer judgment of mankind than I have. However, of this I am sure, that there is nothing else upon which to place a steady reliance. Trick, and low cunning, and addressing their prejudices and passions, may be the fittest means to carry a particular point; but if they have not common sense, there is no prospect of gaining for them any real permanent good. The same passions which have been artfully used by an honest man for their advantage, may be more artfully employed by a dishonest man for their destruction. I desire them to apply their common-sense to this letter of Junius, not for my sake, but their own; it concerns them most nearly, for the principles it contains lead to disgrace and ruin, and are inconsistent with every notion of civil society.

The charges which Junius has brought against me are made ridiculous by his own inconsistency and self contradiction. He charges me positively with "a new zeal in support of administration;" and with "endeavours in support of the ministerial nomination of sheriffs." And he assigns two inconsistent motives for my conduct: either that

I have

I have "*sold* myself to the ministry;" or am "in-
 "stigated by the solitary, vindictive *malice* of a
 "monk;" either that I am influenced by a sordid
 desire of *gain*; or am hurried on by "personal
 "*hatred* and blinded by *resentment*." In his letter
 to the Duke of Grafton he supposes me actuated
 by both: in his letter to me he at first doubts
 which of the two, whether interest, or revenge
 is my motive: however at last he determines for
 the former, and again positively asserts, that "the
 "ministry have made me promises;" yet he
 produces no instance of corruption, nor pretends
 to have any intelligence of a ministerial con-
 nexion: he mentions no *cause* of personal hat-
 red to Mr. Wilkes, nor any *reason* for my re-
 sentment, or revenge; nor has Mr. Wilkes him-
 self ever hinted any, though repeatedly pressed.
 When Junius is called upon to justify his ac-
 cusation, he answers, "he cannot descend to
 "an altercation with me in the news papers."
 Junius, who *exists* only in the news papers,
 who acknowledges "he has attacked my cha-
 "racter" *there*, and "thinks I have some right
 "to an *explanation*;" yet this Junius "can-
 "not descend to an altercation in the news-pap-
 "ers!" and because he cannot descend to an

altercation with me in the news-papers, he sends a letter of abuse by the printer, which he finishes with telling me—"I am at liberty to *publish* it." This to be sure is a most excellent method to avoid an altercation in the news-papers!

The *proofs* of his positive charges are as extraordinary. "He does not pretend to any intelligence concerning me, or to know more of my conduct than I myself have thought proper to communicate to the public." He does not suspect me of such gross folly as to have solicited votes or to have written anonymously in the news papers; because it is impossible to do either of these without being detected and brought to shame. Junius says this! who yet imagines that he has himself written two years under that signature, (and more under *others*) without being detected—his warmest admirers will not hereafter add, without being brought to shame. But though he did never suspect me of such gross folly as to run the *bazard* of being detected and brought to shame by *anonymous* writing, he insists that I have been guilty of the much grosser folly of incurring the certainty of shame and detection by writings *signed* with my

my name! but this is a small flight for the towering Junius: "He is FAR from thinking meanly of my abilities," though he is "convinced that I want judgment extremely," and can "really respect Mr. Sawbridge's character," though he declares him to be so poor a creature as not to be able to "see through the basest design conducted in the poorest manner!" and this most base design is conducted in the poorest manner, by a man whom he does not suspect of gross folly, and of whose abilities he is FAR from thinking meanly,

Should we ask Junius to reconcile these contradictions, and explain this nonsense; the answer is ready, "he cannot descend to an altercation in the news papers." He feels no reluctance to attack the character of any man: the throne is not too high, nor the cottage too low: his mighty malice can grasp both extremes: he hints not his accusations as *opinion, conjecture, or inference*; but delivers them as *positive assertions*: do the accused complain of injustice? he acknowledges they have some sort of right to an *explanation*; but if they ask for *proofs* and *facts*, he begs to be excused: and though he is

no where else to be encountered——“ he cannot
“ descend to an altercation in the news-papers.”

And this perhaps Junius may think “ the *liberal*
“ *resentment of a gentleman* :” this skulking
assassination he may call courage. In all things as
in this I hope we differ :

“ I thought that fortitude had been a mean
“ Twixt fear and rashness ; not a lust obscene
“ Or appetite of offending ; but a skill
“ And nice discernment between good and ill.
“ Her ends are honesty and public good,
“ And without these she is not understood.”

Of two things however he has condescended to
give proof. He very properly produces a *young*
lady to prove that I am not a man : and a good
old woman, my grandmother, to prove Mr.
Oliver a fool. Poor old soul ! she read her
bible far otherwise than Junius ! she often found
there that the sins of the fathers had been visited
on the children, and therefore was cautious that
herself and her immediate descendants should leave
no reproach on her posterity : and they left none :
how little could she foresee this reverse of Junius,
who visits my political sins upon my *grandmother* !

I do

I do not charge this to the score of malice in him, it proceeded intirely from his propensity to blunder; that whilst he was reproaching me for introducing in the most harmless manner, the name of *one* female, he might himself at the same instant, introduce *two*.

I am represented alternately, as it suits Junius's purpose, under the opposite characters of a *gloomy monk*, and a man of *politeness and good humour*. I am called a *solitary monk* in order to confirm the notion given of me in Mr. Wilkes's anonymous paragraphs, that I *never laugh*: and the terms of *politeness and good-humour* on which I am said to have lived heretofore with the *young lady*, are intended to confirm other paragraphs of Mr. Wilkes, in which he is supposed to have offended me by *refusing me his daughter*. Ridiculous! Yet I cannot deny but that a Junius has proved me *unmanly and ungenerous* as clearly as he has shewn me *corrupt and vindictive*: and I will tell him more; I have paid the present ministry as many *visits and compliments* as ever I paid to the *young lady*, and shall all my life treat them with the *same politeness and good humour*.

But

But Junius “begs me to believe that he measures the integrity of men by their *conduct*, not “by their *professions*.” Surely this Junius must imagine his readers as void of understanding as he is of modesty. Where shall we find the standard of HIS integrity? by what are we to measure the *conduct* of this lurking assassin?—And he says this to me, whose conduct, wherever I could personally appear, has been as direct and open and public as my words! I have not, like him, concealed myself in my chamber to shoot my arrows out of the window; nor contented myself to view the battle from afar, but publicly mixed in the engagement and shared the danger. To whom have I, like him, refused my name upon complaint of injury? what printer have I desired to conceal me? in the infinite variety of business I have been concerned, where it is not so easy to be faultless, which of my actions can he arraign? to what danger has any man been exposed, which I have not faced? “*Information, action, imprisonment, or death?*” what labour have I refused; what expence have I declined; what pleasure have I not renounced?—But Junius, *to whom no conduct belongs*, “measures the integrity of “men by their *conduct*, not by their *professions*,”

himself

himself all the while being nothing but *professions*, and those too *anonymous*! the political ignorance or wilful fallhood of this *declaimer* is extreme: his own *former* letters justify both my conduct and those whom his *last* letter abuses: for the public measures which Junius has been all along defending were ours, whom he attacks; and the uniform opposer of those measures has been Mr. Wilkes, whose bad actions and intentions he endeavours to screen.

Let Junius now, if he pleases, change his abuse; and, quitting his loose hold of *interest* and *revenge*, accuse me of *vanity*, and call this defence *boasting*. I own I have a pride to see statues decreed, and the highest honours conferred for measures and actions which all men have approved; whilst those who counselled and caused them are execrated and insulted. The darkness in which Junius thinks himself shrouded, has not concealed him; nor the artifice of only *attacking under that signature* those he would pull down (whilst he *recommends by other ways* those he would have promoted) disguised from me whose partizan he is. When Lord Chatham can forgive the awkward situation in which, for the sake of the public, he was *designedly* placed by the thanks to
him

him from the city : and when Wilkes's *name* ceases to be necessary to Lord Rockingham to keep up a clamour against the *persons* of the ministry, without obliging the different factions now in opposition to bind themselves before hand to some certain points, and to stipulate some precise advantages to the public ; then, and not till then, may those whom he now abuses expect the approbation of Junius. The approbation of the public for our faithful attention to their interest by endeavours for those stipulations, which have made us as obnoxious to the factions in opposition as to those in administration, is not perhaps to be expected till some years hence ; when the public will look back, and see how shamefully they have been deluded ; and by what arts they were made to lose the golden opportunity of preventing what they will surely experience,——a change of ministers, without a *material* change of measures, and without any security for a tottering constitution.

But what cares Junius for the security of the constitution ? he has now unfolded to us his diabolical principles. *As a public man he must ever condemn any measure which may tend even accidentally to gratify the Sovereign : and Mr. Wilkes*

is to be supported and assisted in all his attempts (no matter how ridiculous or mischievous his projects) *as long as he continues to be a thorn in the king's side!* The *cause of the country* it seems, in the opinion of Junius, is merely to vex the King; and any rascal is to be supported in any roguery, provided he can only thereby plant *a thorn in the king's side!*—This is the very extremity of faction, and the last degree of political wickedness. Because Lord Chatham has been ill-treated by the King, and treacherously betrayed by the Duke of Grafton, the latter is to be “the pillow on which Junius will rest his resentment;” and the public are to oppose the measures of government from mere motives of personal enmity to the sovereign!—These are the avowed principles of the man who in the same letter says, “if ever he should be convinced that I had no motive but to destroy Wilkes, he shall then be ready to do justice to my character, and to declare to the world that he despises me somewhat less than he does at present!” Had I ever acted from personal affection or enmity to Mr. Wilkes, I should justly be despised: but what does he deserve whose avowed motive is personal enmity to the sovereign? The contempt which I
 should

should otherwise feel for the absurdity and glaring inconsistency of Junius, is here swallowed up in my abhorrence of his principle. The *Right Divine* and *sacredness* of Kings is to me a senseless jargon. It was thought a daring expression of Oliver Cromwell in the time of Charles the First, that if he found himself placed opposite to the king in battle, he would discharge his piece into his bosom as soon as into any other man's. I go farther; had I lived in those days, I would not have waited for chance to give me an opportunity of doing my duty; I would have fought him through the ranks, and without the least personal enmity, have discharged my piece into his bosom *rather* than into any other man's. The king, whose actions justify rebellion to his government, deserves death from the hand of every subject. And should such a time arrive, I shall be as free to act as to say. But till then, my attachment to the person and family of the sovereign shall ever be found more zealous and sincere than that of his flatterers. I would offend the sovereign with as much reluctance as the parent; but if the happiness and security of the whole family made it necessary, so far and no farther, I would offend him without remorse.

But

But let us consider a little whither these principles of Junius would lead us. Should Mr. Wilkes once more commission Mr. Thomas Walpole to procure for him a pension of one thousand pounds upon the Irish establishment for thirty years; he must be supported in the demand by the public—because it would mortify the king.

Should he wish to see Lord Rockingham and his friends once more in administration, *unclogged by any stipulations for the people*, that he might again enjoy a *pension* of one thousand and forty pounds a year, viz. From the *First Lord of the Treasury* 300l. From the *Lords of the Treasury* 60l. each. From the *Lords of Trade* 40l. each, &c. The public must give up their attention to points of national benefit, and assist Mr. Wilkes in his attempt—because it would mortify the king.

Should he demand the Government of *Canada* or of *Jamaica*, or the embassy to *Constantinople*; and in case of refusal threaten to write them down, as he had before served another administration, in a year and an half; he must be supported in his pretensions, and upheld

upheld in his insolence—because it would mortify the king.

Junius may chuse to suppose that these things cannot happen; but that they have happened, notwithstanding Mr. Wilkes's denial, I do aver. I maintain that Mr. Wilkes did commission Mr. Thomas Walpole to solicit for him a pension of *one thousand pounds* on the Irish establishment for *thirty years*; with which and a pardon he declared he would be satisfied: and that, notwithstanding his letter to Mr. Onslow, he did accept a *clandestine, precarious, and eleemosynary* pension from the Rockingham administration; which they paid in proportion to and out of their salaries; and so entirely was it ministerial; that as any of them went out of the ministry, their names were scratched out of the list, and they contributed no longer. I say, he did solicit the government and the embassy, and threatened their refusal nearly in these words—
 “ It cost me a year and an half to write down
 “ the last administration, should I employ as
 “ much time upon you, very few of you would
 “ be in at the death.” When these threats did not prevail, he came over to England to embarrass

rafs them by his prefence; and when he found that lord Rockingham was fomething firmer and more manly than he expected, and refufed to be bullied——into what he could not perform, Mr. Wilkes declared he could not leave England without money; and the duke of Portland and lord Rockingham purchafed his abfence with *one hundred pounds a piece*; with which he returned to Paris. And for the truth of what I here advance, I appeal to the duke of Portland, to lord Rockingham, to lord John Cavendifh, to Mr. Walpole, &c.—I appeal to the hand-writing of Mr. Wilkes, which is ftill extant.

Should Mr. Wilkes afterwards (failing in this wholefale trade) chufe to doft out his popularity by the pound, and expofe the city-offices to fale to his brother, his attorney, &c. Junius will tell us, it is only an *ambition* that he has to make them Chamberlain, Town-Clerk, &c. and he muft not be oppofed in thus robbing the antient citizens of their birth-right——because any defeat of Mr. Wilkes would gratify the king.

Should he, after confuming the whole of his own fortune and that of his wife, and incurring a debt of *twenty thoufand pounds* merely by his own

own private extravagance, without a single service or exertion all this time for the public whilst his estate remained; should he, at length, being undone, commence patriot, have the good fortune to be illegally persecuted, and in consideration of that illegality be espoused by a few gentlemen of the purest public principles; should his debts, (though none of them were contracted for the public) and all his other incumbrances be discharged; should he be offered 600l. or 1000l. a year, to make him independent for the future; and should he, after all, instead of gratitude for these services, insolently forbid his benefactors to bestow their own money upon any other object but himself, and revile them for setting any bounds to their supplies; Junius (who, any more than lord Chatham, never contributed one farthing to these enormous expences) will tell them, that if they think of converting the supplies of Mr. Wilkes's private extravagance to the support of public measures—they are as great fools as my *grandmother*; and that Mr. Wilkes ought to hold the strings of their purses—as long as he continues to be a thorn in the king's side!

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Upon these principles I never have acted, and I never will act. In my opinion, it is less dishonourable to be the creature of a court than the tool of a faction. I will not be either. I understand the two great leaders of opposition to be lord Rockingham and lord Chatham; under one of whose banners all the opposing members of both houses, who desire to get places, enlist. I can place no confidence in either of them, or in any others; less, unless they will now engage, whilst they are out, to grant certain essential advantages for the security of the public when they shall be in administration. These points they refuse to stipulate, because they are fearful lest they should prevent any future overtures from the court. To force them to these stipulations has been the uniform endeavour of Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Oliver, &c. and THEREFORE they are abused by Junius. I know no reason but my zeal and industry in the same cause that should entitle me to the honour of being ranked by his abuse with persons of their fortune and station. It is a duty I owe to the memory of the late Mr. Beckford to say, that he had no other aim than this

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when he provided that sumptuous entertainment at the Mansion-House for the members of both houses in opposition. At that time he drew up the heads of an engagement, which he gave to me with a request that I would couch it in terms so cautious and precise, as to leave no room for future quibble and evasion, but to oblige them either to fulfil the intent of the obligation, or to sign their own infamy, and leave it on record; and this engagement he was determined to propose to them at the Mansion-House, that either by their refusal they might forfeit the confidence or the public, or by the engagement lay a foundation for confidence. When they were informed of the intention, lord Rockingham and his friends flatly refused any engagement; and Mr. Beckford as flatly swore, they should then — “eat none of his broth;” and he was determined to put off the entertainment: but Mr. Beckford was prevailed upon by — to indulge them in the ridiculous parade of a popular procession through the city, and to give them the foolish pleasure of an imaginary consequence for the real benefit only of the cooks and purveyors.

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It was the same motive which dictated the thanks of the city to lord Chatham, which were expressed to be given for his declaration in favour of *short parliaments*, in order thereby to fix lord Chatham at least to that one constitutional remedy, without which all others can afford no security. The embarrassment no doubt was cruel. He had his choice either to offend the Rockingham party who declared *formally* against short parliaments, and with the assistance of whose numbers in both houses he must expect again to be minister, or to give up the confidence of the public, from whom finally all real consequence must proceed. Lord Chatham chose the latter, and I will venture to say, that by his *answer* to those thanks he has given up the people without gaining the friendship or cordial assistance of the Rockingham faction, whose little politics are confined to the making of matches, and extending their family connexions, and who think they gain more by procuring one additional vote to their party in the House of Commons, than by adding to their languid property and feeble character the abilities of a *Chatham*, or the confidence of a Public.

What-

Whatever may be the event of the present wretched state of politics in this country, the principles of Junius will suit no form of government. They are not to be tolerated under any constitution. Personal enmity is a motive fit only for the devil. Whoever or whatever is Sovereign, demands the respect and support of the people. The union is formed for their happiness, which cannot be had without mutual respect; and he counsels maliciously who would persuade either to a wanton breach of it. When it is banished by either party, and when every method has been tried in vain to restore it, there is no remedy but a divorce: but even then he must have a hard and wicked heart indeed who punishes the greatest criminal merely for the sake of the punishment, and who does not let fall a tear for every drop of blood that is shed in a public struggle, however just the quarrel.

JOHN HORNE.

L E T.

L E T T E R XLVI.

To the PRINTER.

S I R, *August 13th, 1771.*

I **T**HOUGHT to make an apology to the Duke of Grafton, for suffering any part of my attention to be diverted from his grace to Mr. Horne. I am not justified by the similarity of their dispositions. Private vices, however detestable, have not dignity sufficient to attract the censure of the press, unless they are united with the power of doing some signal mischief to the community.—Mr. Horne's situation does not correspond with his intentions.—In my own opinion, (which, I know, will be attributed to my usual vanity and presumption) his letter to me does not deserve an answer. But I understand that the public are not satisfied with my silence;—that an answer is expected from me; and that, if I persist in refusing to plead, it will be taken for conviction. I should be inconsistent with the principles I profess, if I declined an appeal to the good sense of the people, or did not willingly submit myself to the judgment of my peers.

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If any coarse expressions have escaped me, I am ready to agree they are unfit for Junius to make use of, but I see no reason to admit that they have been improperly applied.

Mr. Horne, it seems, is unable to comprehend how an extreme want of conduct and discretion can consist with the abilities I have allowed him; nor can he conceive that a very honest man, with a very good understanding, may be deceived by a knave. His knowledge of human nature must be limited indeed. Had he never mixed with the world, one would think that even his books might have taught him better. Did he hear lord Mansfield, when he defended his doctrine concerning libels?—or when he stated the law in prosecutions for criminal conversation?—or when he delivered his reasons for calling the house of lords together to receive a copy of his charge to the jury in Woodfall's trial?—Had he been present upon any of these occasions, he would have seen how possible it is for a man of the first talents, to confound himself in absurdities, which would disgrace the lips of an idiot. Perhaps the example might have taught him not to value his own understanding so highly.—— Lord Lyttleton's integrity and judgment are unquestionable,——yet he is known to admire
that

that cunning Scotchman, and verily believes him an honest man.——I speak to facts, with which all of us are conversant. I speak to men, and to their experience, and will not descend to answer the little, sneering sophistries of a collegian.——Distinguished talents are not necessarily connected with discretion. If there be any thing remarkable in the character of Mr. Horne, it is that extreme want of judgment should be united with his very moderate capacity. Yet I have not forgotten the acknowledgment I made him. He owes it to my bounty; and tho' his letter has lowered him in my opinion, I scorn to retract the charitable donation.

I said it would be *very difficult* for Mr. Horne to write directly in defence of a ministerial measure, and not be detected;——and even that difficulty I confined to *his* particular situation. He changes the terms of the proposition, and supposes me to assert, that it would be *impossible* for *any* man to write for the news-papers and not be discovered.

He repeatedly affirms, or intimates at least, that he knows the author of these letters.——

With what colour of truth then can he pretend *that I am no where to be encountered but in a news-paper?*——I shall leave him to his suspicions. It is not necessary that I should confide in the

honour or discretion of a man, who already seems to hate me with as much rancour, as if I had formerly been his friend.——But he asserts, that he has traced me through variety of signatures. To make the discovery of any importance to his purpose, he should have proved, either that the fictitious character of *Junius* has not been consistently supported, or that the author has maintained different principles under different signatures.——I cannot recall to my memory the numberless trifles I have written; but I rely upon the consciousness of my own integrity, and defy him to fix any colourable charge of inconsistency upon me.

I am not bound to assign the secret motives of his apparent hatred of Mr. Wilkes; nor does it follow that I may not judge fairly of *his* conduct, though it were true *that I had no conduct of my own*.——Mr. Horne enlarges, with rapture, upon the importance of his services;——the dreadful battles which he might have been engaged in, and the dangers, he has escaped.——In support of the formidable description, he quotes verses without mercy. The gentleman deals in fiction, and naturally appeals to the evidence of the poets.——Taking him at his word, he cannot but admit the superiority of Mr. Wilkes in this line of service. On one side we see nothing but ima-

imaginary distresses. On the other we see real prosecutions;—real penalties;—real imprisonment;—life repeatedly hazarded; and, at one moment, almost the certainty of death. Thanks are undoubtedly due to every man who does his duty in the engagement, but it is the wounded soldier who deserves the reward.

I did not mean to deny that Mr. Horne had been an active partizan. It would defeat my own purpose not to allow him a degree of merit, which aggravates his guilt. The very charge of contributing his utmost efforts to support a ministerial measure, implies an acknowledgment of his former services. If he had not once been distinguished by his apparent zeal in defence of the common cause, he could not now be distinguished by deserting it.—As for myself, it is no longer a question *whether I shall mix with the throng, and take a single share in the danger.* Whenever Junius appears, he must encounter a host of enemies. But is there no honourable way to serve the public, without engaging in personal quarrels with insignificant individuals, or submitting to the drudgery of canvassing votes for an election? Is there no merit in dedicating my life to the information of my fellow-subjects?—What public question have I declined, what villain have I spared?—Is there no labour
in

in the composition of these letters? Mr. Horne, I fear, is partial to me, and measures the facility of *my* writings, by the fluency of his own.

He talks to us, in high terms, of the gallant feats he would have performed, if he had lived in the last century. The unhappy Charles could hardly have escaped him. But living Princes have a claim to his attachment and respect. Upon these terms, there is no danger in being a patriot. But, if he means any thing more than a pompous rhapsody, let us try how well his argument holds together.——I presume he is not yet so much a Courtier as to affirm that the constitution has not been grossly and daringly violated under the present reign. He will not say, that the laws have not been shamefully broken or perverted;——that the rights of the subject have not been invaded, or that redress has not been repeatedly solicited and refused.——Grievances like these were the foundation of the rebellion in the last century, and if I understand Mr. Horne, they would, at that period, have justified him to his own mind, in deliberately attacking the life of his Sovereign. I shall not ask him to what political constitution this doctrine can be reconciled. But, at least, it is incumbent upon him to shew, that the present king
has

has better excuses than Charles the First, for the errors of his government. He ought to demonstrate to us, that the constitution was better understood a hundred years ago than it is at present;—that the legal rights of the subject, and the limits of the prerogative were more accurately defined, and more clearly comprehended. If propositions like these cannot be fairly maintained, I do not see how he can reconcile it to his conscience, not to act immediately with the same freedom with which he speaks. I reverence the character of Charles the First as little as Mr. Horne; but I will not insult the memory of his misfortunes, by a comparison that would degrade him.

It is worth observing, by what gentle degrees the furious, persecuting zeal of Mr. Horne has softened into moderation. Men and measures were yesterday his object. What pains did he once take to bring that great state criminal *Macquirk* to execution? To-day he confines himself to measures only.—No penal example is to be left to the successors of the Duke of Grafton.—To-morrow, I presume, both men and measures will be forgiven. The flaming Patriot, who so lately scorched us in the meridian, sinks temperately to the West, and is hardly felt as he descends.

I comprehend the policy of endeavouring to communicate to Mr. Oliver and Mr. Sawbridge a share in the reproaches, with which he supposes me to have loaded him. My memory fails me, if I have mentioned their names with disrespect;—unless it be reproachful to acknowledge a sincere respect for the character of Mr. Sawbridge, and not to have questioned the innocence of Mr. Oliver's intentions.

It seems I am a partizan of the great leader of the opposition. If the charge had been a reproach, it should have been better supported. I did not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham. I well knew what unworthy conclusions would be drawn from it. But I am called upon to deliver my opinion, and surely it is not in the little censure of Mr. Horne to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, who, I confess, has grown upon my esteem. As for the common, sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. My vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding;—if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius, which

which animates and directs him, to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it.—I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.—These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned.

My detestation of the Duke of Grafton is not founded upon his treachery to any individual; tho' I am willing enough to suppose that, in public affairs, it would be impossible to desert or betray Lord Chatham, without doing an essential injury to this country. My abhorrence of the Duke arises from an intimate knowledge of his character, and from a thorough conviction, that his baseness has been the cause of greater mischief to England, than even the unfortunate ambition of Lord Bute.

The shortening the duration of Parliaments is a subject, on which Mr Horne cannot enlarge too warmly; nor will I question his sincerity. If I did not profess the same sentiments, I should be shamefully inconsistent with myself. It is unnecessary to bind Lord Chatham by the written formality of an engagement. He has publicly declared himself a convert to Triennial

nial Parliaments; and, tho' I have long been convinced that this is the only possible resource we have left to preserve the substantial freedom of the constitution, I do not think we have a right to determine against the integrity of Lord Rockingham or his friends. Other measures may undoubtedly be supported in argument, as better adapted to the disorder, or more likely to be obtained.

Mr. Horne is well assured, that I never was the champion of Mr. Wilkes. But tho' I am not obliged to answer for the firmness of his future adherence to the principles he professes, I have no reason to presume that he will hereafter disgrace them. As for all those imaginary cases, which Mr. Horne so petulantly urges against me, I have one plain, honest answer to make to him. Whenever Mr. Wilkes shall be convicted of soliciting a pension, an embassy, or a government, he must depart from that situation, and renounce that character, which he assumes at present, and which in *my* opinion, intitle him to the support of the public. By the same act, and at the same moment, he will forfeit his power of mortifying the King; and tho' he can never be a favourite at St. James's, his baseness may administer a solid satisfaction to the royal mind. The man I speak of, has not a heart to feel for
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the frailties of his fellow-creatures. It is their virtues that affect, it is their vices that console him.

I give every possible advantage to Mr Horne, when I take the facts he refers to for granted. That they are the produce of his invention, seems highly probable;—that they are exaggerated I have no doubt. At the worst, what do they amount to, but that Mr Wilkes, who never was thought of as a perfect patron of morality, has not been at all times proof against the extremity of distress? How shameful is it, in a man who has lived in friendship with him, to reproach him with failings, too naturally connected with despair. Is no allowance to be made for banishment and ruin? Does a two years prison make no atonement for his crimes?—The resentment of a priest is implacable. No sufferings can soften, no penitence can appease him.—Yet he himself, I think, upon his own system, has a multitude of political offences to atone for. I will not insist upon the nauseous detail with which he so long disgusted the public. He seems to be ashamed of it. But what excuse will he make to the friends of the constitution for labouring to promote *this consummately bad man* to a station of the highest national trust and importance? Upon what honourable motives did

did he recommend him to the Livery of London for their Representative;——to the Ward of Farringdon for their Alderman,——to the county of Middlesex for their Knight? Will he affirm, that, at that time, he was ignorant of Mr Wilkes's solicitations to the Ministry?—— That he should say so, is indeed very necessary for his own justification, but where will he find credulity to believe him?

In what school this gentleman got his ethics I know not. His *logic* seems to have been studied under Mr. Dyson. That miserable pamphleteer, by dividing the only precedent in point, and taking as much of it as suited his purpose, had reduced his argument upon the Middlesex election to something like the shape of a syllogism. Mr. Horne has conducted himself with something like the same ingenuity and candour. I had affirmed, that Mr. Wilkes would preserve the public favour, “as long as he stood forth
“against a Ministry and Parliament, who were
“doing every thing they could to enslave the
“country, *and* as long as he was a thorn in the
“King's side.” Yet, from the exulting triumph of Mr. Horne's reply, one would think that I had rested my expectation, that Mr. Wilkes would be supported by the public, upon the single condition of his mortifying the King.
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This may be logic at Cambridge or at the Treasury, but, among men of sense and honour, it is folly or villany in the extreme.

I see the pitiful advantage he has taken of a single unguarded expression, in a letter not intended for the public. Yet it is only the *expression* that is unguarded. I adhere to the true meaning of that member of the sentence, taken separately as *he* takes it, and now, upon the coolest deliberation, re-assert that, for the purposes I referred to, it may be highly meritorious to the public, to wound the personal feelings of the Sovereign. It is not a general proposition, nor is it generally applied to the Chief Magistrate of this, or any other constitution. Mr. Horne knows as well as I do, that the best of Princes is not displeased with the abuse which he sees thrown upon his ostensible Ministers. It makes them, I presume, more properly the objects of his Royal compassion;—neither does it escape his sagacity, that the lower they are degraded in the public esteem, the more submissively they must depend upon his favour for protection. This, I affirm, upon the most solemn conviction, and the most certain knowledge, is a leading maxim in the policy of the Closet.—It is unnecessary to pursue the argument any farther.

Mr.

Mr. Horne is now a very loyal subject. He laments the wretched state of politics in this country, and sees, in a new light, the weakness and folly of the Opposition. *Whoever, or whatever is Sovereign, demands the respect and support of the people.* It was not so, when Nero fiddled while Rome was burning. Our gracious Sovereign has had wonderful success, in creating new attachments to his person and family. He owes it, I presume, to the regular system he has pursued in the ministry of conversion. He began with an experiment upon the Scotch, and concludes with converting Mr Horne.—What a pity it is, that the *Jews* should be condemned by Providence to wait for a Messiah of their own!

The priesthood are accused of misinterpreting the scriptures. Mr. Horne has improved upon his profession. He alters the text, and creates a refutable doctrine of his own. Such artifices cannot long delude the understanding of the people; and, without meaning an indecent comparison, I may venture to foretel, that the Bible and *Junius* will be read, when the commentaries of the Jesuits are forgotten.

August 13th, 1771.

JUNIOUS.

LET.

L E T T E R XLVII.

To J U N I U S.

August 16, 1771.

I Congratulate you, Sir, on the recovery of your wonted stile, tho' it has cost you a fortnight. I compassionate your labour in the composition of your letters, and will communicate to you the secret of my fluency.—Truth needs no ornament; and, in my opinion, what she borrows of the pencil is deformity.

You brought a positive charge against me of corruption. I denied the charge, and called for your proofs. You replied with abuse and reasserted your charge. I called again for proofs. You reply again with abuse only, and drop your accusation. In your fortnight's letter there is not one word upon the subject of my corruption.

I have no more to say, but to return thanks to you for your *condescension*, and to a *grateful* public and *honest* ministry for all the favours they have conferred upon me. The two latter, I am sure, will never refuse me any grace I shall solicit; and since you have been pleased to acknowledge that you told a deliberate lye in my favour out of bounty,
and

and as a charitable donation, why may I not expect that you will hereafter (if you do not forget you ever mentioned my name with disrespect) make the same acknowledgment for what you have said to my prejudice? this second recantation will perhaps be more abhorrent from your disposition; but should you decline it, you will only afford one more instance how much easier it is to be generous than just; and that men are sometimes bountiful who are not honest.

At all events I am as well satisfied with your panegyric as Lord Chatham can be. Monument I shall have none; but over my grave it will be said, in your own words, "*Horne's situation did not correspond with his intentions.*"

JOHN HORNE



LET